

The Historian

Number 18

Spring 1988



Historical Association Competition

Australia's Past in Front of You



The aim of the competition is for you to find evidence of Australia's past, here in Britain. Keep an eye out for things with an Australian association. Here are some suggestions of things that you might find, or already know about:

- a gravestone
- a memorial window or plaque in a church
- a house, public buildings, or the site of a building now demolished
- letters from emigrants
- birth, death and marriage certificates
- sketches, paintings, photographs
- street names
- old advertisements, old postcards
- jewellery, ornaments, furniture, stuffed animals, clothing, stamps, coins
- an item in a museum
- a newspaper in a local record office
- an unpublished family history

- **How old does the find have to be?** – Anything up to and including 1970 (which was the 300th anniversary of the landing of Captain James Cook on Australian soil) is acceptable
- **Originality** – Your 'finds' do not have to be 'original' or never before discovered, but your entry should show evidence of care taken in research and recording. Every entry, including those submitted by young children, will be judged on its own merits. The competition is open to all ages.
- **Word limit/limits on the number of entries submitted** – Tell us about your research or your find(s) in any way you wish. Single page submissions may be just as suitable as more lengthy submissions. Your entry may be the result of a week's exploration or years of research.
- **Closing date** – all entries must be posted by 1 December 1988.

Prizes have been donated by many organisations and private companies and include:

Books (Heffers Booksellers, Cambridge and B.T. Batsford Limited, London),
Tall Ship Bicentennial silverware tray (Ranleigh Ware Pty Limited, Australia),
Bicentennial Souvenir item (Toye, Kenning and Spencer Limited, London),
Royal Doulton Bicentennial Plate (Royal Doulton, Stoke on Trent),
£100 + deluxe hamper (Australian Dried Fruits Limited, London),
Photograph of winner and copies of winning entry (Reeve Photograph, Cambridge),
Copying and binding of winning entry, copy to be lodged in the National Library of Australia (National Library of Australia, Canberra),
Free subscriptions to History Today and Australian Geographic.
Free membership of The Historical Association ...

The competition has the endorsement of the Britain-Australia Bicentennial Committee.

All entries, enquiries, full details of competition rules and prizes from
Jill Waterhouse, Australian History Competition,
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You do not have to be a member of The Historical Association to enter.

The Historian

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The magazine of the Historical Association

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The picture on the front cover shows what was a piece of derelict land alongside the Dudley Canal 12 years ago. It is now Coppice Street in the Black Country Museum. The buildings, even the street surface itself, were dismantled and reassembled to recreate a 1920s Black Country village. The picture on the back cover is a view of the Banqueting House in Whitehall, the venue of one of the Regional Events planned for this year. See Out and About on pages 24-26 and the Spotlight on pages 31 and 32 (permission: A.F. Kersting)

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ASSOCIATION 1988

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The Association, founded in 1906, brings together people who share an interest in, and love for the past.

The Association offers:

- A fully illustrated magazine, *The Historian*, published four times a year, and other publications on historical subjects
- Journals, *History*, *Teaching History* and the *Annual Bulletin of Historical Literature*
- A national network of local branches, offering varied activities. Regional events at places of historical interest
- An Annual conference held at a different venue at Easter each year
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• and much more

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Contributions to *The Historian* are welcomed for consideration for possible publication, but the Association cannot accept responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts nor guarantee publication. All enquiries should be sent initially to the Association at the above address.

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The Public Domain

In this number of *The Historian*, Professor Keith Robbins, incoming President of the Historical Association, pinpoints as a quintessential historical skill the ability to discern the subtle interaction of continuity and change. This skill is ably demonstrated in the Feature article written to mark the tercentenary year of the Glorious Revolution, in which Professor Ken Haley provides insights into the relationships of the judiciary, executive and legislature in the 1680s and 1690s. Indicted for seditious libel for their petition against having to read the Declaration of Indulgence, the Seven Bishops were advised by the Solicitor-General that a writing 'be it never so true, yet if slanderous to the king or the government, it is a libel and to be punished'; while a colleague declared that 'no private man can take upon him to write concerning the government at all... It is the business of the government to manage affairs relating to the government, it is the business of subjects to mind only their own properties and interests'. As Professor Haley argues, it was essentially this attitude which was defeated in 1688. Those seeking to place information in the public domain have, over the centuries, employed a range of ingenious techniques and Dr Roger Whiting suggests that the publication of a pack of playing cards depicting the Glorious Revolution was partly motivated by concern to circumvent the secrecy laws and to bring matters of moment into the open.

The controversies surrounding the freedom of the press, which are currently embroiling the courts, government, parliament and the Fourth Estate, have prompted the citing of possible parallels and precedents in history, alongside the more direct references to Blackstone, Bagehot and Dicey. In seeking to strike a balance between public interest, executive secrecy and the duty of confidentiality, senior judges have had recourse to the many anniversaries which mark the later 1980s. Finding in favour of the quality press over their stance on *Spycatcher*, one of the Court of Appeal judges, Lord Justice Dillon, recorded that 'Since 1688 it has been a major concern of the courts to present a barrier to inordinate claims by the executive'; while Lord Justice Bingham noted that 'Most of the great works of

the French Enlightenment were, for good reason, published outside France. But the Bastille still fell.' Following hard upon the judgment of Mr Justice Scott in the High Court ('the ability of the press freely to report allegations of scandals in government is one of the bulwarks of our democratic society'), the Master of the Rolls affirmed that 'the media's right to know and their right to publish is neither more nor less than that of the general public. Indeed, it is that of the general public.'

The Public Records Act permits documents, if deemed sensitive, to be withheld from public release; retained for administrative purposes; or destroyed if they are felt not to be of historical interest. The concern of successive governments for secrecy has resulted in a tightening up of the 30-year rule, and it seems that the 'weeders' are taking a tougher line on the release of key documents; thus a number of files about Harold Macmillan's first year as Prime Minister will remain secret until the year 2057. Of equal concern to historians is the possibility that sources of information may be destroyed, as for instance in the disclosure that Foreign Office documents were shredded in 1978 apparently unbeknown to the then Foreign Secretary. According to recent accounts, a special report of a committee of historians on how to make public records more accessible, which had taken two years to prepare, has been thrown out by government.

Writing recently to *The Times* Lord Scarman, one of the country's most eminent judges emphasised that it is 'truly the task of Parliament' to strike the right balance between freedom of information and confidentiality. Certainly there have been encouraging signs in recent months that a 'party for Parliament', composed of MPs of all parties, whose individual members have demonstrated their concern as to what information should or should not be in the public domain, is beginning to emerge. In the absence of a written Bill of Rights, or a First Amendment to a written constitution, and without that separation of powers which is a mark of some democratic countries, the task of the Parliamentarians will not be easy. However, many commentators have welcomed the decision to televise the proceedings of the House of Commons — albeit initially for an experimental

period — as a significant historical event, which provides opportunities for opening up a 'debating society' and for demonstrating the role of Parliament to the electorate. Whether television will change the atmosphere and perhaps the behaviour of the House will no doubt be revealed in what will presumably be a film archive of the chamber's proceedings, a kind of videotaped *Hansard*. Yet there are pitfalls in seeing simple cause and effect in historical events. As Professor Haley points out, relations between legislature and executive were no less stormy after the Revolution of 1688 and hubbub and tumult were not uncommon in the Parliamentary sessions of the 1690s.

In the United Kingdom, we have long enjoyed the right to express opinions freely, although it is sometimes claimed that the public has relatively little right of access to the information on which such opinions should be based. It has also long been recognised that an informed electorate can only serve to strengthen democratic government. The principle of Thomas Jefferson that an informed citizenry is a necessary underpinning for a genuine democracy is no less true today in the United Kingdom than it was in the United States of the nineteenth century. The ability to withhold information and to judge the timing of its release into the public domain may well be part of political power and a solemn responsibility of government, but as Lord Bridge, a senior Law Lord, recently affirmed, attempts 'to insulate the public in this country from information which is freely available elsewhere is a significant step down the road towards censorship and totalitarianism'.

Yet, as Anthony Seldon notes in *Ruling Performance*, official records, by themselves, can give a misleading impression. He cites, as an example, the Cabinet papers of 1952 which suggest that the decision not to have the Coronation televised was reversed because of 'public outcry', although it is maintained that the decision was changed because Churchill had been given 'direct instructions' by the Queen to do so. Thus even when fully in the public domain, official records can never — to the exclusion of all other sources — provide the sole basis for the understanding of history. Nevertheless, it must be recognised that historians, by the nature of their profession, have a vested interest in the thorny question of what information should be made available and when. The stock in trade of historians is inquiry and they are well equipped by inclination and training to examine and assess the reliability of sources; to identify valid questions for different studies; and through the questioning of sources to elicit evidence.

The Glorious Revolution in England after 300 Years

K.H.D. Haley

The word Revolution (used in its modern sense, and not as in the seventeenth century) reflects the human tendency to see history in terms of dramatic crises, leading either to progress or disaster. Sooner or later after the title has been awarded to an event or events, however, historians discover and emphasise the elements of continuity in the situation.

Since it is never possible to make a *tabula rasa* and a completely fresh start, there will always be such elements, as well as those of change. The application of the term 'English Revolution' to the events of 1640-1660 is questioned; features of the old society are found to survive the French Revolution; it becomes uncertain when exactly the 'Agricultural Revolution' and the 'Industrial Revolution' occurred. One can occasionally invent a new revolution, but after a generation the Tudor Revolution in Government dwindles into a mere readjustment.

The Revolution of 1688 is another case in point. Once it was the centre of a great historiographical tradition as the foundation of English constitutional liberties; it was commemorated in 1788 with the creation of the Society of the Bill of Rights. When

Macaulay wrote his *History of England* his starting point was the accession of James II and his first purpose was to narrate the story of the great change which took place. It was 'glorious' because it took place without bloodshed as the result of a national movement rather than a party struggle. In the twentieth century historians of the Civil War and Commonwealth whittled away the importance of the later events of 1688 at a time when a Whig party no longer existed to uphold them. More recently research has emphasised the elements of continuity to such a degree that a distinguished historian has felt able to assert that 'except in the sphere of investment and high finance the Revolution of 1688 introduced few decisive changes in the political and social structure of the country: this much is now accepted'.¹ The reader

1: The Invitation to the 'Immortal Seven' This is the concluding passage of the invitation to William of Orange to intervene, dated 30 June 1688. The names of the original seven signatories were in cipher, and the notes of identification added later. The 'immortal seven' of Whig historiography were the Earls of Shrewsbury, Devonshire (a Whig) and Danby (a Tory, formerly Lord Treasurer under Charles II), Lord Lumley, Henry Compton (the suspended Bishop of London, and a Tory), Edward Russell (cousin of the Whig martyr) and Henry Sidney (formerly ambassador to The Hague) (permission: Public Record Office)

and will take care to bring some good
advisers with you, and we have
desired the A. to consult you about
all such matters; to whom we have
communicated our thoughts, in
many particulars so tedious, to have
been written, and about which
no certain resolutions can be
taken, till we have heard again
from your Highness.

25. 24. 27. 29. 31. 35. 33

Mr. Att: Sir Lucy Newb. B. July



may perhaps wonder whether the fact that the origins of the Bank of England, the National Debt and the Stock Exchange are to be found in the 1690s rather than in the 1680s does not presuppose a political change of some magnitude, and the adjective *decisive* may be thought to beg the question, but many would share this point of view.

Yet change does occur, it does not always take place at the same speed, and some events do have more important consequences than others. The tercentenary of 1688 presents an opportunity to consider not only the broad significance of the Anglo-Dutch connection which had its most striking events in the invasion by a Dutch army and the succession of a Dutchman to the English throne. Where does the importance of the Revolution in British history lie, on the scale between the exaggerations of Whig historians at one end and the undue belittling of recent revisionists at the other?

Invasion and succession

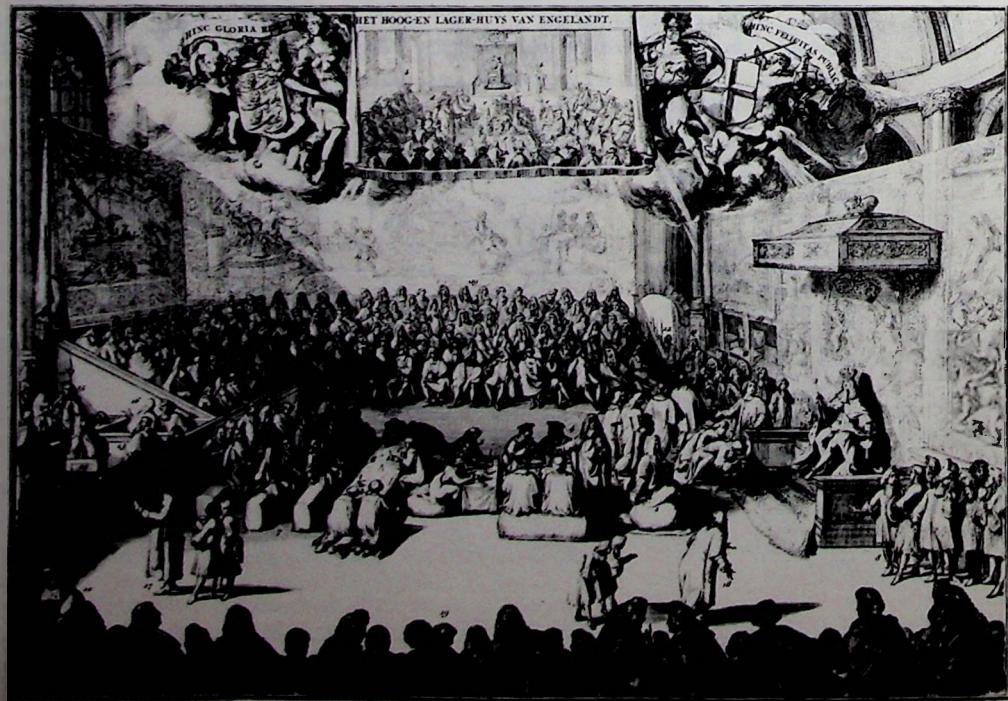
Paradoxically the 'Revolution' would appear more revolutionary if it had appeared less 'Glorious' in the sense that it was achieved without bloodshed in England.² Without a few heads carried around on pikes, the execution of a king, a civil war or at least some clashes in street riots, it dwindles to the appearance of a mere coup by the side of more sensational events in many countries. Yet the course of events was dramatic, the risks considerable and the outcome unexpected, not least to Louis XIV who had to look on at the triumph of his adversary, William of Orange.

When the Dutch finally gambled on allowing William to use their resources for his expedition to England (apart from the political stakes, they eventually presented a bill for expenses of £600,000 which the English repaid) the normal campaigning

season was over. When his fleet first set sail at the end of October it was driven back to port by storms, and it was by no means certain that the opportunity would recur. Though Londoners were praying for an easterly wind, it was rare for such winds, even if they blew, to be sustained for long at that time of year; and at the approach of spring the Dutch would not necessarily feel able to spare William from the Low Countries. A fleet convoying over 200 small transport ships with troops, 4,000 horses, and 21 guns, together with hay, a smithy, a portable bridge, a printing press and other paraphernalia — a tremendous logistical operation for that age — was terribly vulnerable both to bad weather and to the English fleet. A successful unopposed landing might well seem unlikely. Dr Clyve Jones has thrown into doubt the traditional account of William's reasons for sailing westwards to Devon rather than to the north of England where support awaited him, and of the timing of his decision: but, in his own words, 'The fact remains...that the east wind allowed William to take the western course, and that by remaining in the east until the fleet was well into the Channel it ensured that the Dutch would be unmolested by the English fleet trapped at the Gunfleet'.³ To that extent a truth remains in the old myth of the 'Protestant wind'.

William's success on land without at least a battle, in the November weather that was now unfavourable, was no more certain. His forces were less than half the strength of James's and though he put his English and Scots regiments (which had been in the service of the States-General since Elizabethan times) in the forefront, so that it is misleading to speak as though it was entirely a Dutch army of invasion, the other two-thirds were Dutch, Huguenots and miscellaneous mercenaries who might not be welcomed. There were Germans, Swiss and Swedes, and among those who marched for English religion, liberties and property there were some Surinamers and even some

2: William III meeting the Lords and Commons in Parliament, as portrayed by Romein de Hooghe, the Dutch engraver. Unlike Charles II, William seems to have written his own speeches, but in French which had to be translated before the occasion.
(permission: British Museum)



3: The Dutch medal, 'Pro Glandibus Aurea Poma' (Oranges instead of acorns), celebrates the handing over of the administration to William on 3 January 1689 (New Style). The broken oak-tree represents the fall of James II, and the orange tree represents William, with the sun dawning on a new age of prosperity. The obverse shows the fugitive James, with his hair tied in a bag (according to one interpretation) for ease of flight. (permission: British Museum)



Laplanders (in hired Scandinavian regiments). In the words of the doggerel:

..these Switzers and Dutchmen
Came to stand by our churchmen
With hardy grim fellows from Finland

As a matter of fact they were at first greeted with some enthusiasm by ordinary people, but the Bishop and Dean of Exeter fled from the 'Switzers and Dutchmen' who had come to stand by them, and at first few gentlemen came to join them. It should be said, however, that William's contacts before the invasion were not, as far as is known, with people from the south-west, and those who remembered the tarred quarters of Monmouth's rebels hanging outside their villages after the Bloody Assize in 1685 had good cause to be wary of committing themselves too soon.

Since James's army was superior in numbers at least, William's hopes lay largely in defections from it; but Monmouth had had similar expectations and had been disappointed. The desertions of John Churchill and others were eventually forthcoming and important in aiding William's unopposed march to London. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the people at large were apathetic because recruits did not flock in large numbers. There is plenty of evidence of a welcome for William, and not only in the north where Danby, Devonshire and others came out in his favour; but perhaps the best sign of opinion is the panic of James and his Court when they heard that the invasion was imminent, and the hasty reversals of policy with which they tried to forestall it. It was

James's sense of almost total isolation, and of having no one he could trust, that led to the crucial loss of nerve in someone who was not by nature a coward. It is striking that no Cavalier party flocked to his support as they had done to Charles I in 1642.

Here, however, a careful distinction needs to be made. There was plenty of support for William's intervention to secure the reversal of James's policies (of which more below) but it by no means followed that everyone would support his deposition. The famous letter of invitation from the 'immortal seven' (1) which William had taken good care to secure made no reference to a change of ruler, and William was careful not, like Monmouth, to claim the throne during his march to London. Above all, Tories who had, during the Exclusion Crisis of 1679-81, supported James's claim to the succession by divine hereditary right would not find it easy to transfer their allegiance. Had James temporised there could well have been a reaction in favour of the legitimate monarch. It was James's flight, and his taking refuge with the hated Louis XIV, that left no practical alternative to the adoption of the convenient fiction of James's 'abdication' and the offer of the crown to William and Mary by the Convention Parliament (2). The Bill of Rights (1689) and the Act of Succession (1701) excluded not only James and his son the Old Pretender, but the Catholic descendants of Charles II's and James II's sister Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, and of Charles I's sister Elizabeth as well; so that by the time of the accession of George V in 1910 it was calculated that there were about 1,000 people with a better claim to the throne of Great Britain by strict hereditary descent than he had. I have no idea what the comparable figure would be in 1988.

It should not be imagined that this matter of the succession was settled once and for all by the Revolution. Many (though not all) Tories were uncomfortable about the question of principle involved, and were not happy about the fictions of the abdication of James II and the warming-pan in which the Old Pretender was said to have been smuggled, a changeling, into the Queen's bed. For another two generations the possibility of a Jacobite restoration was present in politicians' minds, and would have loomed larger had the Old Pretender become a Protestant. In that sense the Revolution did not complete a dynastic change. But the more important question is whether it was merely a 'palace revolution' which was accompanied by no profound change in the political, social and religious structure of the nation.

King and Parliament

Contemporaries themselves, if they were interested in political or religious affairs — and their number must not be underestimated, even in the provinces — were in no doubt that there was a considerable difference between the reign of William III and that of James II. They would have detected no immediate social difference of dramatic significance, though as the years passed and William's wars had to be financed they saw the growth of the 'moneyed interest' in the City of London. Even the political changes they saw as the restoration of old liberties rather than the creation of new ones; and this was all that the Declaration of Rights claimed to be. Locke wrote of 'our Great

'Restorer', and no more radical description. Nevertheless the assumptions of political life were different from those which had been dominant in the period of the 'Stuart reaction' of 1681-88.

The most obvious way in which this was so was the frequency of parliamentary sessions. In the eight years between 1681 and 1689 Parliament had met only in 1685, when the beginning of a new reign had made it essential to renew the royal revenue; and supplies had been voted for life. Although James had made preparations for a new Parliament by manipulating the borough electorates and trying to arrange candidacies, such a House of Commons, if indeed allowed to meet, would either have been subservient or, if like the Parliament of 1685 it had become critical, it could easily have been dispensed with in accordance with James's long-standing belief in 'firmness'. The purpose of such a Parliament would have been strictly the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts excluding Catholics from office, and after the birth of a Catholic heir in June 1688 this was no longer urgent to forestall a Protestant succession. Nothing suggested that Parliamentary sessions would be more than occasional; whereas since the Revolution it has met in every year. Moreover in William's reign the sessions were longer, and more business was discussed, than at any time since the Long Parliament. It could be argued that this was the consequence of the needs of the war against Louis XIV and not of the Revolution itself or the vague stipulations in the Declaration of Rights that elections ought to be 'free' and 'ought to be held frequently' which would have had little specific meaning in the law-courts; but the war was the direct result of the change of king which the Revolution had brought. Annual sessions lasting about five months continued after the Peace of Ryswick in 1697 until they became habitual. It was probable, but not inevitable, that the process would continue; in the eighteenth century the proportion of the population in the electorate declined sharply, that electorate was open to manipulation by borough-mongers and the use of government patronage, and general elections after 1717 were less common than in the reign of William III. But if there was not bound to be a peaceful evolution to universal suffrage it became a commonplace that Parliament was part of the national life (3).

This development would have come as a surprise, and not a very palatable one, to the Whig hero, William III. At the height of the Exclusion Crisis in 1680 his greatest concern had been that the royal prerogatives would be restricted under pressure from the House of Commons. Showing a strong authoritarian streak in his native country, he had no liking for an elective system; there was no reason why he should, for there was none in the Dutch Republic. The States-General consisted of delegations nominated by the assemblies of the seven provinces, and the most important of these, the States of Holland, consisted of 18 delegations from the towns and one from the nobility of the province. He was no democrat and rapidly came to regard English elections as a happy hunting ground for cabals of factious politicians. But, conservative as he was, he does seem to have accepted that his uncle and father-in-law James had encroached upon the traditional institutions of his country, and that the situation must be restored; what he was most reluctant to see was the

imposition of new restrictions upon himself.

Thus he made no difficulties about the clauses in the Declaration of Rights which claimed, again somewhat imprecisely, that the 'pretended power' of suspending and dispensing with laws 'as it hath been assumed and exercised of late' by James II was illegal. The apparently technical words represent the lawyers' feeling, and William's agreement, that the nullification of legislation by the royal prerogative must be stopped. James's use of the dispensing power had been to evade penal laws in religious affairs, but the legal judgment (by judges appointed by the King) in the test case of *Godden v Hales* could have been applied to all penal laws. In answer to the King's remark that the aged lawyer Sir John Maynard must have outlived many rivals in the courts, he replied 'I had like to have outlived the law itself had not your highness come over'. Lawyers were heavily represented on the Commons committee which drew up the Declaration of Rights, and it is significant that their grievances came first in the list. In other matters they were less progressive. There was no law reform other than in procedure in treason trials (1696) and the stipulation that 'cruel and unusual punishments' (such as the flogging of Titus Oates from Newgate to Tyburn) and 'excessive fines' (of £100,000) should not be imposed; the ordinary penalties for treason and felony were as savage as before. The *habeas corpus* legislation, which James II would have liked to repeal, was in fact suspended by agreement of King and Parliament in 1689 and again in 1696 after the plot to assassinate William. But the norm was established; and equally there was a difference in practice between pre-1688 and post-1688 in regard to the independence of the judiciary even before the well-known clause in the Act of Settlement which made judges no longer removable at the royal pleasure. To that extent present day lawyers are justified in regarding the Revolution as a landmark in the history of the law.

The Revolution did not mark a sharp division between an era of powerful monarchy and one of royal impotence, or between a period of acute conflict between King and Parliament and one of smooth, harmonious co-operation. William clung to the substantial powers which the monarchy still retained. He might permit Parliament to meet every year, but he used the royal veto on legislation more than Charles II had done. He retained the right to summon, prorogue and dissolve Parliaments, though in the end he had to accept that no favourable House of Commons should last longer than three years. His ability to choose his own ministers was unfettered by any formal provision as for example the demands of the Long Parliament in the Grand Remonstrance and the Nineteen Propositions that they should be subject to parliamentary approval. He had complete control over peace and war, largely running foreign affairs himself until 1700 while English politicians preoccupied themselves with domestic politics and the administrative and financial policies arising from the conduct of the war. When a British envoy was needed to go to Versailles after the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, with the Spanish Succession crisis looming ahead, the person chosen was a Dutchman, William's old friend, Bentinck, now Earl of Portland. Little was known of the negotiations for the Partition Treaties even in the Privy Council, and William's Lord Chancellor,



4: Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715), who came over with William's expedition to Torbay and was made Bishop of Salisbury, belonged to the more tolerant Latitudinarian school of thought in the Church. (Permission: National Portrait Gallery)

Somers, was actually impeached (unsuccessfully) for affixing the Great Seal to the second Partition Treaty. Only when William III knew that he had not long to live did he bring Marlborough into the negotiations for the Grand Alliance of 1701.

The proviso, however, was that the foreign policy should (as before 1688) be one which offered a prospect of adequate financial support from the House of Commons if war resulted. William did not receive the unanimous co-operation which he expected; he probably could not understand why politicians did not sink their differences in the common national interest, putting it down to intrigue and self-interest and not appreciating the extent of the genuine differences of outlook dating back at least to the Exclusion crisis. Whoever he chose as his ministers, they were rarely united among themselves and there was always a strong body of opinion opposed to them. As a result, parliamentary sessions were as unruly as almost any that had preceded them and within a few years of the 'Glorious Revolution' he was privately talking of the possibility of abdication. He was exasperated by the demobilisation which had to follow the Peace of Ryswick, including the need to send home his Dutch guards, and by being forced to agree to the resumption of his grants of Irish land to his Dutch favourites. Superficially it might seem to resemble the all-too familiar story of the relations between executive and legislature early in the century, with the aggravation that the King was now a not very popular Dutchman.

Yet nevertheless the clearest of changes had taken place. The political life of the reign of William III was quite different from that of the arbitrary government of the Stuart reaction of 1681-88 — which had itself threatened to get more arbitrary if allowed to develop on the lines of the continental monarchies; it has always to be remembered that many Englishmen had to be afraid that things were going to get worse before they could be brought to the point of acquiescing in resistance. For all the hubbub of the parliaments of the 1690s, they provided war-time taxation far in excess of anything that Charles II had ever enjoyed; and what was more they brought into existence a National Debt based upon parliamentary credit, rather than a royal debt. They did this in the period 1689-97 in support of a revolutionary foreign policy. For over a century England had scarcely been at war with France, except briefly in 1627-28 and 1666-67; now, after the generally pro-French policies of Charles II and James II, began the 'Second Hundred Years War', a rivalry which lasted with intermissions from 1689 to 1815. It is arguable that sooner or later a conflict of interest would have shown itself; but it is impossible to be sure what would have happened if a Stuart dynasty had needed French protection against its subjects. In any case a later war might not have been fought in such relatively favourable conditions as those of the Grand Alliance with William III as its head. The year 1688 saw a considerable change in European, as well as in British affairs, and the arrival of Britain as a great power on the European scene depended on the measure of co-operation between King and Parliament which the Revolution brought, and the army which William expanded and trained. In a reign in which William retained so much authority it is perhaps misleading to talk about parliamentary 'sovereignty', but the fact was that, now, neither King nor Parliament could get on without the other.

Toleration and the press

In religion, 1688 marked a change from a situation in which England had briefly been unique among European states in having a king of a faith different from that of the overwhelming majority of his subjects. The most recent estimate has it that Catholics formed only 1.6 per cent of the English population. Few in James's reign had thought that such a situation could be permanent. It was expected that James would use his authority and his patronage to increase the numbers and influence of his Catholic subjects. The cruder and sillier fears of some Protestants that the fires of Smithfield would burn again can safely be ignored, and there is no evidence that James planned to use his army to enforce a reunion with Rome. James's statements that he did not believe that force would provide a solution to religious questions were not a simple pretence, though it is worth mentioning that Louis XIV also had at one time rejected counsels advocating violent means of persuading Huguenots to join the Catholic Church, only for this to be followed within 20 years by the *dragonnades* and the revocation of his grandfather's supposedly 'irrevocable' Edict of Nantes in 1685. The possession of arbitrary power in time brings with it the temptation to use it to enforce the possessor's beliefs. James's use of his new Court of Ecclesiastical Commission to suspend the Bishop of London indicated his

determination to control the Church. It was impossible to forecast what he might go on to do; in the meantime the tiny minority of Catholics formed some 25 per cent of the justices of the peace, 33 per cent of the deputy-lieutenants in the counties, and held at least 27 per cent of the top posts in the army. More would have been appointed had suitable candidates existed. Catholicism seemed to be the passport to favour. No one can tell what the future would have brought under the Catholic dynasty which appeared to be ensured by the birth of the Old Pretender in June 1688, but it is not surprising that for many the Revolution was seen as a triumph guaranteeing the country's religion in what Burnet called the fourth great crisis of European Protestantism (4).

The Toleration Act of 1689 which followed was not based on any grand universal principles. It was entirely pragmatic in character, instituting the kind of practical toleration which existed in the Dutch Republic without the right for non-members of the official Church to hold office. It was simply 'An Act for exempting their Majesties' Protestant subjects, differing from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain laws' as a reward, in some cases grudging, for joining in the opposition to a common Papist opponent. Nevertheless it was revolutionary in that it finally removed the statutory obligation upon all to attend weekly at their parish church. Dissenters were still supposed to worship at their own meeting houses, and Unitarians and Jews were not provided for; but there was now no means of coercing them. Catholics received less toleration than they had enjoyed by virtue of James's Declaration of Indulgence of 1687 and they did not receive the right of public worship until 1791. Since most of their small numbers worshipped privately in aristocratic households, this was less of a disability than the fact that they were far from enjoying civil equality. Earlier in the seventeenth century recusants had been liable to pay many taxes at double the ordinary rate; this became a heavy burden when a regular land tax was imposed from 1693 onwards. Catholics were still excluded from the professions and, like Dissenters, from the universities. This was not William's doing, for in his native United Provinces he had, for instance, many Catholic officers in his armies, and all-comers were able to attend Leiden University. It represented rather the persistence of old attitudes, aggravated by the events of 1685-88 and by no means appeased by the Revolution.

In one respect both Dissenters and Catholics were less generously treated by the statutory toleration of 1689 than they had been by the prerogative toleration of 1687 — always supposing, however, that the latter was not a mere tactical move, and that, in Halifax's words, the Dissenters were not to be 'hugged now, only that you may be the better squeezed at another time'. James's Declaration of Indulgence of 1687 suspended the Test and Corporation Acts which excluded non-Anglicans from office, from Parliament and from municipal corporations. In 1689 William proposed from the throne the statutory repeal of the Acts, but this was indignantly refused by the Anglicans in Parliament who insisted on restricting office as before to members of the established church. For Dissenters this was mitigated by the practice of occasional conformity (by which they attended communion at their parish church once a year in order to qualify for office) and in the eighteenth century indemnity acts were passed for their benefit, but the Test Acts remained on the statute book until they were

repealed in 1828, followed by Catholic Emancipation in 1829.

Thus 1688 did not bring complete religious equality. The reservation is important, and is one reason for guarding against the illusion that the Revolution represents a sudden move from total darkness into broad daylight. Nevertheless the fact remains that the Toleration Act did provide for the licensing of chapels in which a different form of public worship from that of the established Church legally took place, and the church courts did lose their power to enforce discipline upon the whole population. This has to be linked with the lapsing in 1695 (again without a lengthy debate of the principle) of the Licensing Act, by which the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London had the right to censor all theological books, while books on affairs of state (and history) went to one of the Secretaries of State. Twice bills were introduced to reinstate the censorship, and failed because of criticism of the Stationers' Company rather than any firm belief in the freedom of the press. Writers of news-sheets still had to be wary of possible charges of seditious libel if they transgressed acceptable limits in criticising ministers, and writers like Locke continued to use the caution born of long experience before accepting public responsibility by name for publishing anti-clerical opinions. But there was a great outpouring of heterodox literature of all kinds which presents a great contrast to conditions when Sir Roger L'Estrange had been Surveyor to the Press between 1663 and 1688. There had certainly been no relaxation of the government's control of the press and the expression of public opinion under James II, when the Seven Bishops had been charged with seditious libel for their petition against having to read the Declaration of Indulgence from their pulpits. In their trial, the Solicitor-General had argued that a writing, 'be it never so true, yet if slanderous to the king or the government, it is a libel, and to be punished'. The Lord Chief Justice ruled that 'anything that shall disturb the government, or make mischief and a stir among the people' is certainly a libel, and a colleague went on to declare that 'no private man can take upon him to write concerning the government at all; for what has any private man to do with the government if his interest be not stirred or shaken? It is the business of the government to manage affairs relating to the government, it is the business of subjects to mind only their own properties and interests'.⁵

It was essentially this attitude which was defeated in 1688. The gain in freedom was substantial, though it was not unlimited and brought no political or social equality. Trevelyan once described the decade of the 1680s as the most decisive in our history. There is perhaps little point in weighing the claims of one decade against another in that way; but there remains enough to make a tercentenary a justifiable cause for celebration.

NOTES

- 1 J.P. Kenyon, in a review of J.C.D. Clark, *English Society 1688-1832* (1985) in *Journal of Modern History*, p. 573.
- 2 Limitations of space prevent any reference here to Scotland and Ireland.
- 3 C. Jones, 'The Protestant Wind of 1688: myth and reality', *European Studies Review* (1973), pp. 201-21 (Quotation at p. 216).
- 4 *The Muses Farwel [sic] to Popery and Slavery* (1699), *Supplement*, p. 66.
- 5 W.C. Costin and J.S. Watson, *The Law and Working of the Constitution: documents 1660-1914* (1952), I. 264, 267, 269.

President's page

SILVER LINING



All Presidents of the Historical Association inherit the achievements of their predecessors. Donald Read has been bold enough to set out in print 'what the President does' but he has done much more for the work of the Association than he admits. We can only be grateful for his dedication and commitment in circumstances that have never been easy. Under his guidance, difficult issues have been tackled with vigour.

Inevitably, within and without the Association, we are not agreed on the appropriate stance to take on curricular problems. Discussion and argument must go on, but it is imperative that we do not allow ourselves to fall back into a kind of siege mentality. We live in a time of paradoxes. 'History' can appear to be both 'under threat' yet also more generally 'popular' than ever before. The appetite for the past can appear disconcertingly insatiable. Historians who neglect this appetite do so not only at their peril but also to their detriment as scholars. There is always a temptation to feel in the Association that only one section of its varied membership *really* matters — the 'academic', the 'teacher', or the 'leisure' historian. If only we could present an unambiguous image to government, the media, or even ourselves, how much more effective we should be. Maybe, but we are all different and we should be proud of our diversity and not seek to express or impose a bogus uniformity of outlook or opinion. Whether we wish to emphasize 'content' or stress 'skills' in the contemporary debate, we need to keep a sense of proportion and to recognise, as good historians, that fashions come and go.

Oddly enough, I feel that the present discussion takes me back to where I started, 25 years ago, as a callow young lecturer. There may well be some members who derive a wry smile from the fact that, a quarter of a century after the publication of the Robbins Report, someone with the same name comes to the presidency of the Association. Were it not for the publication of that document I would probably never have become an academic historian at all. Suddenly, just at the right time for me, universities were mushrooming on gorgeous green field sites. I

was fortunate enough to be a 'founding father' at York — though Professor Kenyon, who came paternal from Hull to inspect our little band, gratifyingly to me for a 'founding student'. However, I took comfort from the fact that one of the early students interviewed took me to be Lord Robbins and was suitably deferential. It was a time, of course, when it was as odd to have a colleague who was over 40 as now is to have one who is under 40. Lord James, our Vice-Chancellor, was inclined to wave his arm in the direction of some distant green fields where, so he said, a second university would be built when this initial creation reached its planned size. That sounded very encouraging, but I felt that playing my little part in merely getting a History Department off the ground was sufficient for the time being. So, there we were, gazing profoundly at possible alternatives for a history syllabus. There is nothing like a *tabula rasa* for stimulating youthful minds. Guided by the wise hand of the current President of the Royal Historical Society, we immersed ourselves in endless discussions: outlines, themes, documents, broad sweeps, narrow bands, marks for everything, marks for nothing, examinations (memory exercises?), examinations (analytic skills?), long essays, short essays, etc. So intense was our preoccupation with these matters I recall that one evening we were locked inside the stable building which the university administration, probably wisely, considered to be the appropriate location for historians. No doubt, in our different ways, we were all imprisoned by the past, but there was no need for the porter to demonstrate this fact quite so blatantly.

To recall those early days is still for me an exciting experience. It was a privilege to start something from scratch and it was exhilarating to believe that we were creating something fresh, something 'better' than the content of the curriculum we had ourselves enjoyed or endured. It is not an experience that the coming generation is likely to have. Then, every year, we had a fresh appointment, or set of appointments. If someone particularly good appeared at interview, then it was not beyond the bounds of possibility to seek an extra appointment. It was not difficult to generate enthusiasm. I came to feel the difficulty, amidst such fertility, of maintaining a sense of common enterprise.

All that now seems a long time ago. The sense that the future consisted of an endless series of new appointments has long since disappeared. Colleagues depart and are not replaced. Some of the things we have tried to do cannot be done any longer. It is easy in these circumstances to succumb to anger or indifference. It is convenient to feel that we have not been properly treated. The problem, as I see it, within the Association, within universities, within colleges and within schools is to maintain our confidence without yielding to self-righteous assumption that every development that has occurred within my teaching lifetime has become sacrosanct. It so happens that one of my sons is a history graduate from the University of York. The syllabus which he followed had changed in some respects from that which his father had laboured lovingly over. Nevertheless, it could only appear to him to be an established fact. What had seemed innovation had become convention.

Our skill in discerning the subtle interaction of continuity and change is what marks us out as historians. We would be foolish not to continue the same sensitivity in looking at our subjects and our subjects. *Keith Robbins*

EDUCATION FORUM

● *History in Adult Education*

Education, properly conceived, is a life-long process. Here Joan Dils, a leading promoter of adult learning in Berkshire, surveys the particular attraction and value of history within such a context...

In 1985-86 the extramural departments of British universities provided over 1,500 courses in history, or nearly 2,200 if ancient history and archaeology are included. History was the most popular subject, accounting for 11 per cent of the liberal adult education programme of these institutions. Their students are only some of those who spend part of their leisure time exploring the past: others attend classes organised by the WEA or the LEA; there are meetings of local history, family history and industrial archaeology societies, and local branches of the Historical Association; residential centres provide short courses ranging from medieval Latin to the use of computers in historical studies.

A small but growing minority which takes the subject even more seriously enrols for 'access' or A-level courses, studies with the Open University, or embarks on a full or part-time degree course at a local college or university. The total number of adults learning history in one way or another is difficult to calculate, but it must be impressive.

The work of teaching adults in extramural classes is made exciting and stimulating by the intensity of their commitment, but it is demanding because of the wide range of their interests. Genealogists feel the need to learn more about the world of their (and our) ancestors; owner-occupiers of old houses are curious about the lifestyles of former inhabitants; women are eager to share in the growing body of knowledge about the experiences of the half of society often hidden from the records. Some people have an overwhelming interest in a particular period, or in a specific aspect of the subject such as landscape or transport history. A growing number want to know more about the district they live in. To meet these varied interests, the provision of liberal education courses by publicly funded bodies has to be wide-ranging both as to the area of study and in the level of academic standard. Any single adult centre in a major urban area will try to provide a number of courses in social, economic and political history as well as several in local history, varying in length from a single day to 20 weeks or more. In such an area one finds students who have gained, through several years of study, a deep understanding of a single aspect of the subject or a more superficial acquaintance with a wide range of topics.

This freedom to delve deeper into a given theme or to move onto an allied area of interest is also possible within a single course. One of the great strengths of liberal studies is the flexibility of the syllabus. There is no pressure from an externally imposed syllabus nor a fixed timetable of study. Courses can be modified as

the work progresses to suit the actual student group; topics which engage the attention of all or some members can be pursued in depth; individuals can follow their own reading schemes and further courses can be planned to develop the skills and knowledge already acquired.

The possibility of more serious study leading to formal qualifications has, until recently, been limited to a few specialist centres for adults notably Birkbeck College, London, and Ruskin College, Oxford. Opportunities have increased considerably of late. Certificate courses in local history are taught by a number of extramural departments; part-time degrees in history or with a history component have appeared in various centres of higher education; the number of mature adults entering first-degree courses increases slowly. Those who undertake part-time research for higher degrees are increasingly important in view of the decline in central funding for the humanities.

Long-term commitment to research, at least in the field of local history, is not confined to the postgraduate. Many groups of adult students, directed by imaginative, energetic and patient tutors, have developed a range of historical skills which have resulted in substantial published research. Taking part in such a project allows individuals to gain some insight into the mechanisms of historical writing as well as to develop their own abilities as historians. Their publications are growing in number and quality.

Such individuals and groups form a minority of the adult student population. The vast majority looks for a less tangible reward. The most evident is an immense enjoyment, an enrichment of other activities, a widening of horizons, and not least, the companionship of like-minded people. Many would say that history gives them some explanation for the present, whether it be the contemporary state of power politics in Asia or the differing nonconformist churches in modern Britain. Such relevance becomes strikingly apparent when a class investigates the past of its own community. There is something eminently satisfying in discovering one's roots, in seeing how familiar things began, from the English parliamentary system to a local place name.

Yet, though they may not be aware of it, it is that very knowledge of the present which in large measure explains the great satisfaction adults derive from a study of the past. They often question why history now seems so different from what it was in school, implying that they found it less enjoyable and less meaningful years ago. It is they, as much as the subject, who have changed. Many are highly qualified and responsible in their own fields and their varied skills and experiences are greatly enriching for all the other members of the group, not excluding the tutor. They bring to a study of history a maturity which as children they had not developed. Many have a lively awareness of events, even a healthy scepticism, and a perspective shaped by their work, their family life and their perception of great events which they have lived through.

Studying history challenges, in its turn, assumptions about the present. The adult student not only learns about the past but becomes a more critical observer of the contemporary scene. No wonder history attracts such a large body of devotees.

Record Linkage



Among my Souvenirs

Roger Whiting finds an historic deal is on the cards

1988 marks the 300th anniversary of the Glorious Revolution. Coming at a time of much discussion about the freedom of the press, and court judgments involving political matters, it could not be more timely. Without much bloodshed, it ushered in the Bill of Rights, as well as religious, academic and judicial freedom. When duns were being forcibly ejected from Oxford, when the established church leaders were on trial and secrecy a public issue, the country rebelled and offered the throne to one who respected the rights and dignity of subjects. Some might even argue that similarities with present day Britain are not too difficult to detect.

Political playing cards have been an interest of mine for many years, and 1988 has provided a timely opportunity to secure the services of *Past Times* to reproduce the facsimile Spanish Armada and Glorious

Revolution packs. One has only to deal a hand of cards and history is on the table plain for all to see — 52 different cartoons of the events involved. This article looks primarily at the Revolution, and more briefly at the Armada, through the scenes depicted on political playing cards.

An examination of the 1688 Revolution pack offers an insight into the dictatorship of the day in dramatic and compelling scenes. It was issued almost immediately after the events it portrayed. In some editions the cards are numbered from 1 to 52, but the numbers are of little help as they do not follow the chronology of events, and part of the fun of using them is to correct the order. The clubs suit opens the story with several cards referring to events in the previous reign. Thus the ace of clubs shows the Earl of Essex having his throat cut by a couple of men in the

Tower of London (5). The earl had been wrongly accused of being implicated in the Rye House Plot and had been put in the same cell that his father had occupied prior to his execution. The card shows the political propaganda purpose of playing cards, for the Earl actually committed suicide in the toilet cubicle attached to his cell, using a knife he requested in order to cut his nails. Another pack of cards on James II's reign suggests that the murderers threw a knife out of the window, perhaps referring to the evidence of a small boy who claims he saw it thrown out. His elder sister commented that her brother was an habitual liar.

The two of clubs is particularly interesting as it shows the practical effects of a dictatorship in action (6). Men are shown removing, from the Fire Monument, the inscription blaming the Catholics for starting the Great Fire of 1666. The accusation had been added to the monument in 1681 following the Popish Plot scare. William III was to replace it, and it was not finally removed until 1830. The three of clubs shows Titus Oates being whipped from Aldgate to Tyburn as part of his sentence for falsifying evidence about the Popish Plot (7). The four, in the same suit, shows a mass hanging of Monmouth rebels following the 'Bloody Assize' (8).

Dons expelled from Magdalen College

The six and eight of clubs remind us of how unwise it is for a ruler to seek to destroy academic freedom (9). James II had decided to appoint Catholics to key positions so that he could bring his kingdom back to the faith which he sincerely believed they longed for. He instructed the fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, to elect the Catholic Anthony Farmer as their president. Expelled from Trinity, Cambridge, for misbehaving at a dancing class, Farmer had gone on to supply his Oxford undergraduates with a nude for their pleasure. He often returned late and drunk and had once thrown the Abingdon stocks into the river. Not surprisingly the fellows rejected him in favour of the much respected Dr Hough. James promptly sent the Court of Ecclesiastical Commissioners who, according to the six of clubs, announced they would 'Huff ye Dr Huff for all your huff'.

When the fellows rejected his compromise candidate as well, James arrived in person with his troops and expelled 25 of the fellows (eight of clubs 10). Academic freedom triumphed a few months later, however, when James restored them all in the vain hope of stopping the revolution which then faced him. Historians may be tempted to reflect on current efforts to defend academic freedom in the universities.

Archbishop of Canterbury arrested

The Seven Bishops were tried for refusing to undermine the power of the king-in-parliament to make laws. They rejected James's arbitrary suspension of the penal laws, so heralding a new alliance between the established church and the judicial bench. Church and judiciary were not tools of the government in power. One of the two cards on this trial shows the Tower of London, symbol of executive might, sinking into the Thames as the bishops are rowed towards it (11). Rarely have bishops and judges been so popular as they were that year.

Relations with the pope are reflected in two cards. The king of clubs depicts the Earl of Castlemaine grovelling before the pope. He was sent to get a

cardinal's hat for the Queen's confessor, Father Petre but failed to do so, perhaps because the pope felt insulted that James had sent the man whose wife was his mistress. The ten of clubs shows an unhappy Duke of Somerset dismissed from his post as Gentleman of the Bedchamber for refusing to escort the papal nuncio, the Comte D'Adda, to Windsor when he arrived in a procession of 36 coaches in 1687.

Secrecy surrounding suspicious royal birth

Secrecy was also an issue, as no less than nine cards connected with the birth of the 'Old Pretender' portray. Was the baby the genuine son of the king and queen? Why was the bed heated with a warming pan in summer? Interestingly no card depicts that theory, although one does show the Lord Chancellor at the foot of the four-poster during the birth (12). In all probability the birth was genuine, but, if so, why the secrecy surrounding it? On the other hand, cards relate why a show was made of visiting St Winifred's Well in Flintshire and the shrine of Our Lady of Loretto. (13). But who was the 'Popish Midwife' seen chopping up her husband on the kitchen table, then putting the remains down the privy, before she herself was burned at the stake? (14) These three cards remain a mystery to this day. What was Mrs Judith Wilkes, one of the midwives, saying to her priest in confession on the queen of spades? These packs of cards were endeavouring to get round the secrecy laws and bring the whole matter into the open.

The sequence is completed by cards showing the gift of a consecrated smock from the pope, (15), the christening, with the papal nuncio standing in for the pope who was a godfather, and the baby prince dressed by the fireside and granting audiences to courtiers.

Panic as Government falls; invasion imminent

A number of cards refer to the growing discontent. Catholic chapels are attacked. The singing of *Lillybullero* and other political songs, the arming of the Catholics by the Earl of Tyrconnel on the one hand, are offset by a Jesuit denouncing the Protestant use of the Bible and the singing of mass in belief that the French had landed to aid James. Then there follows the hasty destruction of incriminating evidence when it is appreciated that all is lost. The six of diamonds shows Father Petre burning his papers. One colleague hurriedly sells off his relics ('Thos A Becket's Old Stockins 5d once', he cries) on the seven of hearts, while another destroys his chalice and crucifix. Meanwhile the queen and her baby escape in a coach to the coast.

James's coronation had been marked by three events — the canopy (held by Pepys among others) collapsed over him during the anointing, the crown nearly slipped off his head, and the royal standard blew off the Tower's masthead that night. Did 'three' signify a reign of three years? His birthday, on 14 October, recalled the Battle of Hastings when another William had triumphed by invasion. Hastings had been foreshadowed by a comet, while 14 October 1688, witnessed an eclipse of the sun and the setting sail of William of Orange's fleet. So what could be more fitting than that William should land at Brixham on 5 November, a day famed for its near destruction of James I by Guido Fawkes? William's landing, the

distribution of his proclamation offering toleration, freedom and citizenship rights, are both shown.

William made his way towards London, and the cards show the arrest of Catholics and of Judge Jeffreys in disguise. On the ace of hearts the judge is shown lodged in the Tower, where he appears very sorry for himself as a yeoman of the guard stands by. William's progress is followed with one card showing the skirmish at Reading and another his being greeted at Windsor. Finally, he is seen on the five of diamonds entering London in an open coach in the rain. As an

afterthought the ace of diamonds shows Thomas Ellis in Grocers' Alley having a celebratory drink. Ellis had been behind the 'Apprentices Parliament' riots of 1647, which had involved 'sit-ins' in the House of Lords.

The Enterprise of England

Nothing is known about when the Spanish Armada pack was first marketed. It could have been produced some time after the event as the style is that of Francis Barlow. The pack can be said to be opened by the knave of hearts showing papal support for the invasion (the pope promised a large cash payment if the Spaniards actually landed), followed, in the hearts suit, by a survey of the ships involved (16). Strikingly, the knave of clubs is chosen to introduce the Duke of Medina Sidonia as the fleet's commander. Though the implication is that he was a knave, there is no doubt now among historians that King Philip made a wise choice of commander in this efficient and conscientious man.

A number of cards deal with emergency defence measures taken in England. The queen's protection is referred to on the king of diamonds which records that '24000 Foot and 2000 Horse' were to guard her, while the king of hearts depicts the tented camp at Tilbury.

Did Drake play bowls?

The opening shot fired by the 80 ton bark *Defiance* is recorded on the five of diamonds. No card depicts Drake playing bowls at Plymouth for he never did. The absence of such a picture suggests these cards must have been produced soon after 1588, as early in the next century an anti-Spanish fictitious pamphlet, *Vox Populi*, mentioned the game.

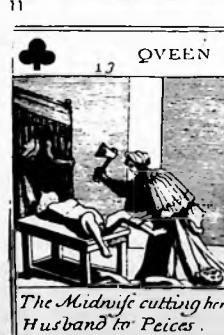
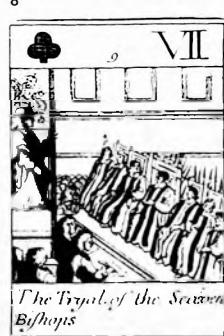
Various incidents in the fighting are recorded, such as the attack on Recalde's galleon in the rear of the Armada, and Drake's capture of the *Nuestra Senora del Rosario*. The famous fireships attack on the trapped Armada is dealt with by the three and two of clubs. Although none set fire to the Spanish ships, the latter had to cut their anchor cables, so losing their valuable anchors. The impossibility of Parma's army embarking on shallow-draught barges unprotected by the Armada, due to sandbanks, is barely dealt with.

The first royal 'walk-about'

In contrast, the visit of the Queen to the Tilbury camp to dine with her officers and do a 'walk-about' — royal procedure now regularly copied by Elizabeth II — are shown in the queens of hearts and clubs. Thus she is not only shown as representing the heart of the nation but the might too. The packs conclude with Armada shipwrecks, the hanging of the Jesuits and the triumphal celebrations in London.

Facsimile reproductions of the Spanish Armada and Glorious Revolution playing cards may be obtained from *Past Times*, Guildford House, Hayle, Cornwall, TR27 6PT. Price £4.95 per pack, plus £1.95 postage and packing per order.

A special offer to readers of *The Historian* (open until the next issue is published in August) is for one pack £4.70, or any two or more for £4.60 each post free direct from Dr Roger Whiting, 15 Lansdown Parade, Cheltenham, GL50 2LH, cash with order, all cheques made payable to Dr Whiting.



Dr I.A.A. Thompson leads us through publications of the last two decades, which have seen the most important English-language contribution to the history of early-modern Spain for 50 years...

UPDATE

If the 1950s and 1960s were dominated by French influences, the new generation of Spanish historians in the 1970s and 1980s has been much more open to the work of English and American scholars and to the concerns of Anglo-American historiography. Traditionally those concerns have been most distinctive in the area that can be broadly termed 'political' history. In particular, the analysis of Spain's rise and decline has always held a special fascination for Spain's imperial successors, and it is in the examination of the structure and effectiveness of Spanish government, the questioning of the reality of Spanish 'absolutism', and the reformulation of the concepts of 'greatness' and 'decline' that the most exciting recent developments have taken place.

The foundations of Spanish greatness are conventionally situated in the reign of the Catholic Kings, but the work that has appeared in the 1970s and 1980s has done much to undermine the credentials of these kings as New Monarchs. Angus Mackay's *Spain in the Middle Ages: from frontier to empire, 1000-1500* (Macmillan, 1977) has drawn attention to the important advances made by the Crown under Juan II (1406-54) and argued for the continuity of 'absolutist' policies in Castile across the

Castile (1474-1504) (Cambridge University Press, 1987), that the Catholic Kings had no consistent 'urban policy' and were not innovators. The *corregidores* were not predominantly *letrados* but came from all social backgrounds, including the aristocracy, and were not particularly effective as agents of central government, rarely being able to challenge the local power of the aristocracy and losing the co-operation of the cities after 1504. The failure of the Catholic Kings, their reversion to a policy which condoned the re-establishment of aristocratic power in the localities and the breakdown of the short-lived alliance between Crown and cities, is seen by Stephen Haliczer, *The Comuneros of Castile: the forging of a revolution 1475-1521* (Wisconsin University Press, 1981), as lying at the heart of the municipal reaction which flared up into revolution in 1520, giving us a more profound, long-term view of the Comunero Revolt than the usual simple xenophobic and constitutional reaction to the financial and administrative abuses of Charles V's new government.

The downgrading of the Catholic Kings is part of a wider re-evaluation of the nature of Absolutism in Habsburg Spain. Henry Kamen in the most invigorating of the general surveys of the period to have appeared in recent years has challenged the validity of seeing Castilian government as absolutist at all. *Spain 1469-1714: a society of conflict* (Longman, 1983) stresses the lack of uniformity in Spanish history, the ambivalence and ineffectiveness of policy, the limits imposed by custom and practice, and the persistence of dissent. A different reformulation of the concept of 'decline' has come from the work of I.A.A. Thompson, in *War and Government in Habsburg Spain 1560-1620* (Athlone Press, 1976), and R.L. Kagan, in *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile 1500-1700* (North Carolina University Press, 1981), who have drawn attention to a process of devolution from central institutions to local and informal alternatives in the spheres of military administration and justice respectively, a process that reached its zenith in the seventeenth century, but which, in the former case at least, can be traced to the last decades of Philip II's reign. As Kamen writes of Philip II, 'The "absolute" king probably contributed more than any other Habsburg to frittering away the authority of the crown in Spain.'

The attempt to recover that authority and re-establish Spain as the dominant power in Europe was the obsession of Philip IV's chief minister, the Count-Duke of Olivares. His career has finally received the treatment it deserves with the completion of J.H. Elliott's massive and authoritative *The Count-Duke of Olivares: the statesman in an age of decline* (Yale University Press, 1986). However, Elliott's earlier *Richelieu and Olivares* (Cambridge University Press, 1984) presents the problems Olivares faced and the solutions he proposed in a much briefer compass, and seeks to understand his failure through the comparative method. The use of art, architecture and iconography to promote and defend the regime is

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the centuries of greatness and decline

late-medieval/early-modern period, and William D. Phillips Jr, in *Enrique IV and the Crisis of Fifteenth-century Castile 1425-1480* (Medieval Academy of America, Cambridge, Mass., 1978) has shown that in the modernisation of the machinery of government, the Catholic Kings in some respects went back on previous practices, employing, for example, fewer *letrados* (law graduates) in government than their immediate predecessors. The much-trumpeted achievements of the Catholic Kings in the restoration of royal authority, justice and firm control over aristocracy, cities and Church have also been subjected to a good deal of sceptical reappraisal by Marvin Lunenfeld who argues in his latest work *Keepers of the City: the Corregidores of Isabella I of*

beautifully exemplified in an attractive volume Elliott wrote in collaboration with Jonathan Brown, *A Palace for a King* (Yale University Press, 1980).

Of considerable impact on rethinking absolutism in Castile has been the rehabilitation of the Cortes by Haliczer (drawing on the unpublished dissertation of C.D. Hendricks on the Cortes of Charles V), Charles Jago, 'Habsburg Absolutism and the Cortes of Castile', *American Historical Review*, 86, 1981, 'Philip II and the Cortes of 1576', *Past and Present*, 109, 1985, and I.A.A. Thompson, 'Crown and Cortes in Castile, 1590-1665', *Parliaments, Estates and Representation*, 2, 1982, 'The End of the Cortes of Castile', *ibid*, 4, 1984. It is no longer possible to write off the Cortes of Castile after the defeat of the Comuneros as a mere rubber-stamp for government demands. The Cortes now emerges as an effective defender of the interests of the urban ruling classes, with a key role in the determination of fiscal policy and in the administration of taxation. When, after 1664, it ceased to meet, those functions were taken over directly by the cities the Cortes had previously represented.

On the history of government in Habsburg Spain, John M. Headley, *The Emperor and his Chancellor: a study of the Imperial Chancellery under Gattinara* (Cambridge University Press, 1983) shows how internal opposition blocked the attempt to create a rationalised administrative structure under chancellery supervision, appropriate to a supra-national empire, and left in place the splintered Castilian system of individual councils and secretaries. A new view of the reign of Philip III as a period of administrative reform is proposed by P.L. Williams in 'Philip III and the Restoration of Spanish Government, 1598-1603', *English Historical Review*, 88, 1973. With the evidence for military and naval reform presented by Thompson, and Elliott's anticipations of Olivares's reform programme in the years after 1617, we are perhaps beginning to see something of a rehabilitation of the government of Philip III. A revealing account of the professional formation of the legal bureaucracy of Habsburg Spain, demonstrating how the universities came to be dominated by law studies and subordinated to Crown control and the interests of the royal service, and how the royal councils in their turn became the preserves of the increasingly socially and racially restrictive *colegios mayores*, is provided by R.L. Kagan, *Students and Society in Early Modern Spain* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1974). The universities, which around 1600 catered for some 20,000 students, putting Spain in the top rank of European higher education, regressed in the seventeenth century into an increasingly exclusivist utilitarianism.

Most of the writing on Spain's international power has concerned itself with the seventeenth century. Elliott's *Count-Duke of Olivares* is now the fullest account of Spanish foreign policy in the reign of Philip IV, but of particular note are J.I. Israel's *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World, 1606-1661* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1982) and its trailer in *Past and Present*, 76, 1977, 'A Conflict of Empires: Spain and the Netherlands, 1618-1648'. Israel argues that the Dutch war after 1621 had ceased to be about sovereignty or religion and had become essentially a struggle for Spain's economic survival and control of the Indies trade. It was fought, therefore, not primarily by armies, but by embargoes, river blockades and privateering, in an attempt to reverse Spain's unfavourable trade balance and to defeat the Dutch by economic means. This strategy was by no means

unsuccessful and serious damage was done to Dutch trade in the war years.

By comparison, Spanish policy in Europe in the sixteenth century has not attracted much attention. The centrality given to the power of France in Spain's strategic priorities is brought out in Geoffrey Parker's important article, 'Spain, her Enemies and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1559-1648', now reprinted, together with other essays by Parker, in *Spain and the Netherlands 1559-1659* (Collins, 1979). The same author's *The Dutch Revolt* (Penguin, 1977) makes available new materials on the Spanish view of the Revolt and the politics of faction and decision-making in Madrid. On Spanish relations with England, R.B. Wernham's compendious *After the Armada: Elizabethan England and the struggle for Western Europe 1588-1659* (Clarendon Press, 1984), extends our knowledge of events, but leaves the general view of Philip II's war aims unaltered. With the 400th anniversary of the Armada here, the most interesting novelties to date have derived from the marine archaeologists' discoveries of Armada wrecks on the Scottish and Irish coasts: R. Stenuit, *Treasures of the Armada* (David and Charles, Newton Abbot, 1972); C. Martin, *Full Fathom Five: wrecks of the Spanish Armada* (Chatto and Windus, 1975); Niall Fallon, *The Armada in Ireland* (1978). Seven wrecks have been or are in the process of investigation, but it remains to be seen whether they will tell us anything significant about shipbuilding techniques, gunnery, or the quality of the Armada's equipment. If we are to learn more about the reasons for the Armada's failure the material remains will need to be related to the documentary evidence which, in the area of armament at least, has revealed a force even more weakly gunned than Michael Lewis had imagined, and incapable of matching the English at either long or short range: I.A.A. Thompson, 'Spanish Armada Guns', *Mariner's Mirror*, 61, 1975.

A much clearer idea of the military forces which enabled Spain to dominate in Europe and the Mediterranean has been given us by N.G. Parker's *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road 1567-1659* (Cambridge University Press, 1972) and J.F. Guilmartin's *Gunpowder and Galleys: changing technology and Mediterranean warfare at sea in the sixteenth century* (Cambridge University Press, 1974). Guilmartin shows how the increased availability of cheap, iron cannon by 1600 undermined the dominance of the war galley on which Spanish (and Turkish) power in the Mediterranean rested. Parker's study, though it shows Spain, despite her economic and financial problems, able to maintain very high levels of military expenditure and troop numbers in the Netherlands well into the 1640s, also points to a shift in the balance between infantry and cavalry in the seventeenth century which operated to the detriment of traditional Spanish military strengths. The connection between developments in military organisation and technology and the erosion of Spanish hegemony in Europe is one worth pursuing. The virtue of R.A. Stradling's *Europe and the Decline of Spain: a study of the Spanish system 1580-1720* (Allen and Unwin, 1981) is that he pays considerable attention to the relationship between resources (financial, human, technical and administrative) and international power. His emphasis on the ability of the Spanish Monarchy to survive and compete militarily with some success even as late as the 1650s, in spite of the progressive deterioration of the economic base of its power, points to a disjunction between political and

economic history which he has expounded in an article on 'Seventeenth-century Spain: survival or decline?', *European Studies Review*, 9, 1979.

This is one element in a broad rethinking of the notion of a 'decline of Spain' to which Henry Kamen has contributed in a provocative article in *Past and Present*, 81, 1978, 'The decline of Spain: an historical myth?'. Kamen argues that the economic facts reveal no pattern of general and unambiguous decline, but rather a series of fluctuations which reflect either opportunity shifts or random exogenous inputs. Rather than 'decline', Kamen prefers to talk of phases of dependence, economic changes within Spain being related to the dominance of successive external powers controlling the Spanish economy. The idea, therefore, that from the middle of the seventeenth century Spain went into permanent and irreversible decline is a misconception that in his revisionist study of the reign of Carlos II, *Spain in the Later-Seventeenth Century 1665-1700* (Longman, 1980), he sets out to correct, arguing that the last 30 years of the seventeenth century are noteworthy for marked economic recovery, political reform and intellectual vitality. Kamen's position is unlikely to stand without modification, but other studies are showing the economic history of the seventeenth century to be much more complex than we had previously imagined. This is particularly true of James Casey's *The Kingdom of Valencia in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1979). The Valencian economy, dependent on Castile for markets and coin, mirrored the economic fortunes of the Monarchy as a whole. Her agriculture was already stagnating from the 1570s, and the expulsion of the *moriscos* in 1609-14 was less of a cataclysm than an aggravation of the existing situation. Though the Old Christians who replaced the *moriscos* were less than half their number, they occupied nine-tenths of their lands and by mid-century the resettled areas were doing exceptionally well, contributing to the 'minor gold age' of Carlos II's reign. The need for assistance to offset their losses of vassals and rents, however, forced the political elites of the kingdom into dependence on Madrid and helped cement the loyalty of Valencia to the Monarchy during the 'crisis of the seventeenth century'. How economic depression brought about not dissimilar political consequences in Castile is explained in two articles by Charles Jago, 'The Influence of Debt on the Relations between Crown and Aristocracy in Seventeenth-Century Castile', *Economic History Review*, 26, 1973, and 'The "Crisis of the Aristocracy" in Seventeenth-Century Castile', *Past and Present*, 84, 1979, but a convincing explanation of Castile's avoidance of widespread revolt in the mid-seventeenth century still eludes us. The moment Castile seemed to be coming closest to it is described by Claude Larquié in 'Popular Uprisings in Spain in the Mid-Seventeenth Century', *Renaissance and Modern Studies*, 26, 1982.

The most notable attempt in English to comprehend the economic history of the period within a single interpretative scheme has been David R. Ringrose's ambitious *Madrid and the Spanish Economy, 1560-1850* (California University Press, 1983). For Ringrose the mid seventeenth century marks the loss of economic dominance by the Castilian 'interior' and its separation from a 'coast' revitalized by its integration into the international commercial system. The 'interior' becomes depopulated, de-urbanised, de-industrialised; the rural economy becomes disengaged from the urban market, economically isolated, and

locked into a self-limiting, subsistence-orientated Malthusian cycle. In this process the role of Madrid was central. By drawing off income from the interior to spend in the exterior, without creating an alternative market for domestic manufactures, the explosive rise of the capital between 1560 and 1630 undermined the regional urban network of Castile and contributed to the decline of the Castilian economy. The argument perhaps holds for nearby cities like Toledo, but its general validity will need to be tested by local studies. The only urban history in English, Carla Rahn Phillips's *Ciudad Real, 1500-1750: growth, crisis, and readjustment in the Spanish economy* (Harvard University Press, 1979) emphasises the negative consequences of government taxation in the 1630s and 1640s and disinvestment into prestige purchases of land and offices, an emphasis not incompatible with Ringrose's, but also presents a somewhat more optimistic view of the readjustments possible within a more restricted and more localised economy. Government fiscal policy is also blamed by David E. Vassberg, *Land and Society in Golden Age Castile* (Cambridge University Press, 1984) for the privatisation of community lands and the acceleration of rural poverty. The attention he draws to the erosion of the communitarian basis of Castilian agriculture is an important addition to our very limited knowledge of the problems of the Castilian rural economy. A valuable survey of the agrarian situation at the end of the sixteenth century is to be found in James Casey's essay, 'Spain: a failed transition' in P. Clark (ed), *The European Crisis of the 1590s* (Allen and Unwin, 1985).

The commonplace view that Spain's economic development was hindered by archaic prejudices against commercial and industrial activity has also come under fire. Ruth Pike has demonstrated in *Aristocrats and Traders: Sevillian society in the sixteenth century* (Cornell University Press, 1972) that, far from disdaining commerce, the leading noble families of Seville were deeply involved as investors in trade with the New World, and Henry Kamen has drawn attention to several examples of successful entrepreneurship in the late seventeenth century to suggest that Spanish business was far from moribund even at that date. The distinctiveness of Spanish social attitudes has also been challenged by Linda Martz whose *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain: the example of Toledo* (Cambridge University Press, 1983) argues that poverty and idleness were no more encouraged or condoned in Spain than anywhere else, Spanish writers sharing the same range of hard and soft attitudes to the relief of poverty as other Europeans, Protestant or Catholic.

The responsibility of the Inquisition for Spanish economic and intellectual decadence has been the subject of a major revision. The updated version of Kamen's 1965 book on the Inquisition, now published as *Inquisition and Society in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Weidenfeld, 1985) is a measure of the change in the history of religion in Spain in the last 20 years. Gone is the all-powerful institution of religious, cultural and intellectual repression. Now, drawing on current research in France and Spain, a sample of which is available in translation in two collective volumes, one edited by Angel Alcalá, *The Spanish Inquisition and the Inquisitorial Mind* (Brooklyn College Press, New York, 1987), the other by Stephen Haliczer, *Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Croom Helm, 1986), and on the new, social history of religion, best

exemplified in William A. Christian's *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton University Press, 1981), we have a concentration on the social function of the Inquisition within ordinary, Old Christian society, stressing the 'christianising' and reformatory role of the Inquisition in religious life, and playing down its abuses, its obsession with *limpieza*, and its contribution to any cultural or economic malaise, which Kamen now declares to be 'quite simply mistaken'. The Inquisition was a much less effective instrument of oppression than we have been previously led to believe and a much more marginal element in Spanish history. 'Spain was in reality', Kamen claims, 'one of the freest nations in Europe.' One area in which the Inquisition's thinking was in advance of that elsewhere in Europe was its careful approach to the problem of witchcraft. The way that the junior inquisitor of Longroño, Don Alonso de Salazar y Frías, convinced the Suprema to put a stop

to the excesses of popular and official fantasy after the mass trials in Navarre in 1609-11 is lucidly and exhaustively examined by the Danish anthropologist, Gustav Henningsen, in *The Witches' Advocate: Basque witchcraft and the Spanish Inquisition* (Nevada University Press, 1980).

We live in interesting times. Everywhere the old orthodoxies are being questioned and found wanting. A new framework for the history of the Spain of the Golden Age is being forged, but a review of English-language publications cannot do justice to the vibrancy of the historical activity that is now going on in Spain itself among the many, excellent, young native historians of the last two decades, the bulk of whose work has still to be incorporated into the latest English surveys. It is to be hoped that our publishers will, before long, do us the service of making something of their findings directly accessible to English students of their history.



Alice IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Patrick Abbott

As with the Bible, or the plays of Shakespeare, we all read into the *Alice* books the interpretations that best suit ourselves, revealing our own peculiarities, perhaps, rather than the author's. Psychoanalysts, literary historians, theologians and philosophers have all produced their own theories and at various times the two books have been seen or imagined as a disguised history of the Oxford Movement, a revelation of the author's unconscious atheism, unacknowledged works by Mark Twain and even the description of a psychedelic drug trip. Yet one plausible and simple thesis has been largely ignored — that the earlier book is based simply on one of the most famous episodes in English history.

In *Through the Looking Glass*, Alice moves as a chess pawn, she meets chessmen in various guises and takes part in a confused, incorrect but authentic game of chess. Lewis Carroll's earlier book, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, appears at first to be similarly based on a kindred theme, for many of the characters are playing cards. But unlike the later book, the theme does not permeate the entire work and there is no shuffling, dealing, trumping or any other action of a card game. Neither is there a card table in evidence, to compare with the huge chess board on which the action of *Through the Looking Glass* is set. Can it perhaps be that the playing cards are not what they seem and actually symbolise something very different? Looking at the book more closely, it is possible to argue that it is the Wars of the Roses with which the author was clearly — if unknowingly — obsessed.

Consider first the characters. The Queen of Hearts — the Red Queen in another guise — is obviously the Lancastrian queen, Margaret of Anjou, whose faction used a red rose as their emblem and who fought bitterly for the throne with the rival and related House of York, whose badge was the white rose. It is this conflict which is epitomised in the incident of the rose tree — standing for a family tree — whose flowers were really white but were being painted red in a vain attempt to comply with the

wishes of the bloodthirsty queen. The historical Margaret of Anjou was a ruthless woman and her victims were indeed beheaded peremptorily after judicial proceedings which were short, predetermined and manipulated. This travesty of justice is commented upon in the mouse's tale of a dog who killed his victim after a brief trial in which he has served not only as prosecutor, but also as judge and jury. Significantly, the dog is called Fury — a name more properly applied to an avenging female.

Who else then, is depicted in the story and what aspects of the fifteenth century's dynastic struggles are obliquely portrayed? The Duchess can be none other than Cicely, Duchess of York, who was the mother of Edward IV, formerly the Earl of March and the Yorkist heir after his father's death. He is clearly symbolised by the March Hare — or heir. Her youngest son is undoubtedly the baby carried through the wood by Alice, since he turned into a pig, so reminding us that the real Richard of Gloucester took a boar as his emblem before he too became king. A further hint of his mother's identity is provided by Tenniel's illustration of the Duchess indubitably wearing a fifteenth century head-dress and a gown ornamented with white heraldic roses; it is well known that he faithfully fulfilled the author's instructions in such matters.

The King of Hearts, as we all know, is ineffectual and totally dominated by his wife, exactly as the pathetic and feeble Henry VI was ruled over by his. The Cheshire Cat, appearing and disappearing in unpredictable fashion, represents not a person, but the lion crest of the English monarchy, tantalising the feuding claimants by its elusiveness.

The Knave of Hearts — the son of the King and Queen — can only be Edward, Prince of Wales, whose theft of the tart or tarts can perhaps fancifully be taken to refer to the marriage he forced on the reluctant Anne Neville. Certainly he was an unpleasant youth whose death at the Battle of Tewkesbury in 1471 ensured the final triumph of the Yorkist cause. The battle was fought on 4 May and Alice's reflections at the end of chapter six show that her adventures took place in that month, while the state of the Mad Hatter's watch prompted him to ask Alice the date. It was, of course, the 4th.

Dr Colin Richmond, University of Keele, will comment on Mr Abbott's interesting idea in the next issue of *The Historian*.



The Young Historians Speak

John Fines writes ...

Quite early in its own history the Young Historian Scheme is about to deliver the first lot of goodies it promised when it was set up, namely the examples of course work for GCSE prepared by the seconded teachers in Durham, the West Midlands and West Sussex. These examples will be very detailed and give a wide range of topics, and I think will do more to help most teachers than any other way I could think of — but let us await their publication and not steal their thunder here. Instead let us have a taste of the effect of some course work. One of the West Sussex teachers, David Linsell, prepared a topic that centred on the terrible incident at Brighton some years ago when the Conservative Party conference was in progress. He trialled his materials with a small group of his own pupils at Chichester High School for Boys, and after they had finished their work another teacher went in and asked them to talk about it with him. Here are the questions he put to them and the answers they gave, totally unedited. I think you will be as impressed as I was.

◆ **What have you learnt about the study of history from your work on the Brighton bomb...**

Different techniques and how to investigate them.

◆ **What techniques?**

Using empathy giving different types of evidence such as primary, secondary history, comparing needs, using photographs, newspapers, how to find out if the source is biased or not going to be biased.

◆ **How do you find out if a source is biased or non-biased?**

Well you work out what side they're on and if there is any reason to be biased and if you compare any information you might find differences which might become biased. Then you have to pick out the most important facts to use as his primary evidence and then think about what else he can do. You can find out how different people apportion the blame of what happened on to other people for different reasons.

◆ **So how do different historians use different types of evidence then to find out the truth or as near to the truth as we can? How do historians use evidence?**

They use the evidence, they use the different facts and bits and start emphasising them saying you will know what William the Conqueror's point of view was with the Battle of Hastings, you get some of the evidence and put yourself in his shoes to try and find out his viewpoints. Use all the available facts. Get a good report.

◆ **So with the Brighton bomb what evidence did you find most useful and most reliable?**

The photos and the police reports, the newspapers was all sort of jazzed up — too descriptive. Irrelevant facts just because they've got to sell the paper. Facts which aren't really important to historians. And whilst the police report was biased towards the police saying how good they were but...factual...gave all the important information.

◆ **Did you feel the police report was correct, was the true story then?**

Well we had to vote on if we wanted the right account of the Brighton bomb whether we'd use the police report or the newspaper, it came out half and half. The police report was boring, but the newspapers gave you a much wider look at it and other people's views and things like that the police wouldn't have been thinking of. The newspapers had more quotes which can be helpful but the police didn't. They just had what they did, facts.

◆ **When you talk about quotes, can you rely on quotes that you read in newspapers. Are they reliable?**

You can change them but they can paint a picture sometimes

◆ **What about the use of photographs by historians generally, you looked at various photographs concerning the Brighton bomb. Did you find them useful and how did historians use the photographs?**

You find out quite a lot from them. They show the agony on his face and said he didn't do it. You find out where the bomb was from which parts had collapsed and you can find out what the situation is because there was a sign on one of the doors saying 'do not disturb' still.

◆ **What about the use of photographs more generally in history. How do you think historians can use those, not just the Brighton bomb but in other historical topics. What can we find out from photographs generally?**

Where it was, what happened, the things involved. Sum up the situation from it. Find out instantly what's happened. It's not very detailed though, that will just give you a quick glimpse of what's happened.

◆ **Is there anything else that you would have liked to find out about the Brighton bomb, any other evidence you would liked to have looked at, or any other investigation you would have liked to carry out which perhaps would clear things up for you? Do you think you had everything that you needed to find out about the bomb?**

The victims' point of view. We would have liked to know more about the IRA involvement, how they were caught. It just went over it briefly — if you had spent a bit longer with that then it would have made it a lot clearer, more interesting as well.

◆ **So what did you think about the work you did then? Interesting, useful?**

Good, it was better than a normal history lesson I think, because in history you're not learning specific skills like we did on this.

◆ **What skills do you think you learnt then? Talk about the skills that you have learnt.**

More intense, working out what facts to use and stuff like that.

◆ **So analysing evidence, working out what facts. What's empathy? What do you mean by empathy?**

Imagining you are someone else to get a different viewpoint — use your imagination. But you've got to have a lot of facts about that person.

◆ **You've still got to stick to the factual knowledge that you've got haven't you. So — analysis of evidence, empathy, any other skills that you used in your work?**

It helps you to use your brain to work out other things because in this we had to do some worksheets that were quite hard, but if you used it and thought about it, it just helped, it widens your knowledge on how to do that thing.

◆ **Do you think this evidence-based approach is a good way of teaching history?**

Yes, if you start off the year teaching techniques and then could do just more history like we're doing at the moment, then we could use the techniques. When we were with the other teacher he used to read out things and then ask questions on things, not really testing our skill of history — this is much better.

◆ **To sum up then, what would you say about all the work you have done? Was it enjoyable?**

It was very interesting, helpful, it was hard work but good fun, it was enjoyable working hard. Well it's not working hard as in writing down a lot, it was only two or three sides of A4 over the last six weeks whatever. We have done a lot of work in the lessons, using our brains.

◆ **So you think you've found out an awful lot about the Brighton bomb using these techniques more than you would have done in perhaps a more formal teaching situation. Because there's only six of us, a lot smaller group so we get much more attention and you understand it better than if you had done it on your own. We were basically working in groups of three, so you could help each other.**



17: Racecourse Colliery is built round a re-excavated mineshaft, with copies of old structures from local mines

It has to be an advertising jingle! Back in the 1960s tourism was about seashores and national parks, and the notion of advertising holidays in Wigan or Bradford was a national joke. In the 1980s the promotion of urban tourism is well-established, with outstanding successes in derelict dockland and decayed city. So why not visit the Black Country? But where is it? — and for that matter when is or was it? And since this jingle heads the Black Country Museum's latest advertising, can the 'real' Black Country exist in, perhaps only in, a museum?

The undulating uplands lying astride the county boundary of Staffordshire and Worcestershire seem to have escaped the attention of early commentators. The county agricultural surveys dwell at length on more fertile earth elsewhere, and when Celia Fiennes took her one journey through the region she noticed only the arrival of the judges for the Wolverhampton

VISIT THE REAL BLACK COUNTRY

John Crompton

Assizes. Yet the valley of the Stour was already important for wrought iron and bars, distributed across England as well as being the raw material of local nail, chain, and other industries. Dr Robert Plot's *Natural History of Staffordshire* repeats, amongst far more wondrous and even less plausible tales, Dud Dudley's claim to have smelted iron with pit-coal. Abraham Darby would have been seven years old at Wrens Nest near Dudley, and perhaps already learning his father's trades of nailmaker and locksmith when Plot's book was published. Abraham took his knowledge and inventive capacities to Coalbrookdale industrial enterprise in the area with his first furnace at Bradley in 1766.

'Nature did for the ironmasters all she could, everything except literally building the furnaces themselves,' wrote Elihu Burritt. Ironstone, clay and limestone were sometimes mined in the same shaft, but it was the coal which was the amazing resource. The famous Staffordshire 30 foot seam, sometimes lying only a few tens of feet below the surface, was largely exhausted by 1860, but by that time there were over 160 blast furnaces, and according to Burritt the Black Country, 'black by day and red by night, cannot be matched, for vast and varied production, by any other space of equal radius on the surface of the globe'. Queen Victoria is said to have ordered the blinds of her railway carriage windows to be pulled down as she passed; her attitude is understandable when placed alongside contemporary reports of the physical and human squalor of the area. 'The district appears to have been literally turned inside out', reported the *Morning Chronicle* in 1850, and the 1843 Mining Commission Report describes 'cottages and houses...interspersed with blazing furnaces, heaps of burning coal coking, piles of ironstone calcining'. In such conditions the quality of life was often poor. 'From want of water and being so constantly surrounded by filth', wrote John Houghton in 1852,



18: The 'Bottle and Glass' functions again in a canalside location. It was built c.1800 near the Wordsley flight of canal locks

'the difficulty of cleanliness is so great that by degrees even clean persons lose heart and give it up in despair.' William Lee in his report of 1852 to the Board of Health wrote that 'in no other part of England is the work of human extermination effected in so short a time as in the district surrounding Dudley'.

Defining the Black Country today

Times change, and the characteristics which make the Black Country melt away; the last iron furnace was demolished in 1981. Today there is no consensus on the boundaries of the region. Definitions based on the extent and shallow depth of the thick coal omit to take account of the economic unit based on short-haul carriage from literally hundreds of wharves and basins on Britain's most complex canal network. Another characteristic, that of domestic outwork, spreads to Birmingham, Wolverhampton, and Walsall; all are resolutely placed outside the real Black Country, though all have been included at one time or another. The character of 'land turned inside out' has largely disappeared from the landscape, though many remnants of the nineteenth century architectural character remain. What is new is the huge spread of suburbanisation since 1920, semi-detached estates and their geometric roads filling up the once ravaged and the once green spaces with equal disdain. More than anything this rapid urban growth has threatened to engulf and destroy the character of the Black Country; a regional character becoming less complete, less marked, less real, since the 1920s. But though 'Aynuk an' Ayl' have been pressed into popular advertising, the character of the people, their independence, accent, and feeling about the intangibles of the Black Country, still survive.

Re-creating the Black Country

So the real Black Country has gone. Aspects survive, but the old juxtapositions are anathema to today's planners. If the real Black Country is to survive at all, it must do so as a reconstruction, free from television aerials, Japanese cars, and the trappings of the plastic revolution. Such thoughts were in the minds of those who in the 1960s began to dream about and to awake public interest in a museum of the Black Country. The form of such a museum was not yet clear when in 1967 a Keeper of Science and Industrial Archaeology was appointed to Dudley Museum. Richard Traves' brief was to encourage and focus local interests, and to build a collection of industrial and social artefacts which would reflect the history and personality of the region. His untimely death in 1976 ended ten years' dedication which saw the beginnings of an open-air site at the foot of Castle Hill, close to the eastern portal of the Dudley canal tunnel and a mile from the centre of Dudley itself. A charitable trust had been established, a number of advisory panels had tapped local enthusiasm and expertise, and in April 1976 a tiny museum staff and an even smaller 'office' arrived on the derelict sewage works site which they were to turn into a reconstruction of the real Black Country.

Twelve years on, much has been achieved. It is just possible to trace vestiges of the sewage works, under stockpiles of bricks, tiles and paviours. But it is hard to credit that the clear waters of the canal arm were once buried under 20 feet of sewage sludge, or that the canal bridge over which visitors pass has not been there since 1879, the date proudly emblazoned upon it. A nice story relates how an early visitor, surveying the piles of bricks and rubble around the first house newly completed, said, 'I'm so glad you didn't knock that one down with all the rest'. Now the site makes more sense, its village streets lined (not yet completely) with houses and cottages, a chapel, a pub of course (18) shops, and behind and amongst them the small backyard workshops of the nailer, the chainmaker, the brass founder, and the glass engraver; the ironworks and the boat repair yard, cheek by jowl as they were in the 1920s. The coalmine (17), is further away, beyond a developing squatter's settlement, and the tram does not yet run through urban streets, but through greenery after the manner of the Kinver Light Railway (19). In 1986 almost a quarter of a million people came to see this new 26-acre Black Country, to listen to its guides and to watch its demonstrators. But what do these people expect of a museum?

What is the museum for?

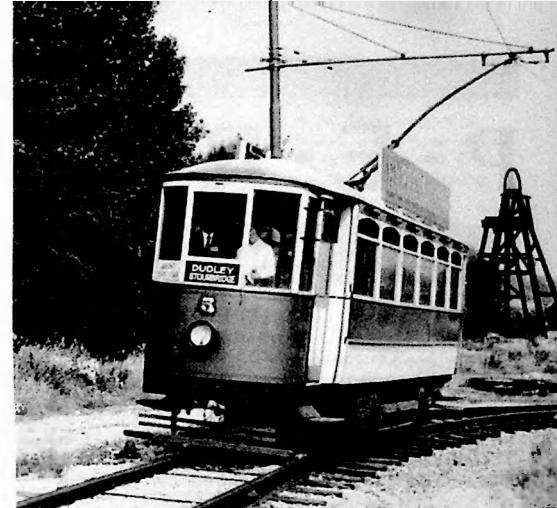
There was a time when 'museum' conjured up a world of curios in glass cases, of coins and fragments of pottery, butterflies on pins, swords and suits of armour, stuffed birds and grotesque wooden masks, rubbing dusty shoulders with darkening portraits of local dignitaries. In this Saturday morning world whose silence was disturbed only by the slow tread of attendant's boots on marbled floors, lay an introduction to the strangeness of the world beyond the normal orbits of space and time. Museums for today may well have broken this mould, but they have retained and strengthened the educative role without which they would cease to be museums. When a museum omits the labels and the story boards, education becomes covert but no less important — the visitor who lacks the reassurance of words needs to

have confidence in the authenticity of the object. So the Black Country Museum places great store by the dismantling and reconstruction of its buildings to very high standards of accuracy; in the majority of cases, each brick is numbered so that it can be placed back into its three-dimensional jigsaw. This time-consuming process brings the stains of time, and not merely the building fabric, to the museum site. There are problems in juxtaposing buildings from different parts of the region — the variety of brick types and textures is amazing. But a sense of unity comes from having a well-detailed 'notional history' which explains how the museum village developed from the stimulus of canal building in the 1780s, a fact which is itself historically authentic.

The buildings comprising any landscape date of course from different periods, but as in the real world, visitors expect to see them together, at a specific moment in time. The museum chooses to portray the early 1920s because the character of the Black Country has been fading since then; and research is directed to ensuring that the external accessories of the landscape are correct and capable of expressing that period. Some interiors are allowed to depart from the central date where there is good reason, as for instance in the availability of detailed information relating to a specific period or event. Again, the specimens assembled in the 'displays' within the context of the buildings are not explained by labels, and so need to speak for themselves by their authenticity in terms of use, period, and local provenance. To ensure this authenticity, and thereby to educate subconsciously, is the true role and purpose of the museum; in this case, an introduction to the strangeness of the Black Country region outside the normal orbit of time.

Reality and the museum

In concentrating efforts on the unity of the 'village' so far, the museum has not yet told the story of how the Black Country came into being. Some elements from that story survive within the museum boundaries, like the parts of the canal system which played such a vital part in opening up the region at the end of the eighteenth century. Another event of international significance, the application of steam to the draining of



19: The only working Black Country tram, which spent 47 years as a summerhouse in a Dudley garden. Three similar cars are under restoration

mines, has been portrayed by the modern replica of Thomas Newcomen's first successful engine, built in 1712 only half a mile from the museum site. Other elements — the mining of the 30 foot seam, the blast furnaces, the slitting of bar iron by water power, the success of John Rastrick's 1829 locomotive *Agenoria*, may well in time be reconstructed within a developing museum. More attention has yet to be paid to the 'collection' and preservation of the region's traditional manufacturing skills, by ensuring that they are practised and handed on to new generations, in some cases through the manufacture of saleable products. However, the 'vast and varied production' for which the region was famed in the nineteenth century is likely to demand different methods of display, if it is not to require a museum site approaching the size of the Black Country itself. Then there are the other services which museums must provide, of information about the social and economic history of the region, of material from the archival and photographic collections, of knowledge based on research into the museum specimens, and advice based on the experience of developing and building the museum itself. There is a great deal to be done before the museum has fulfilled all of what might be termed its professional goals.

Visitors expect other things, too, from their excursion into the real Black Country. They expect the museum to provide a cafe, a shop, toilets, seats, smooth paths, safety from the sparks of industry. Some of these cannot be tucked away, and they inevitably detract from the reality of the reconstruction. The ultimate dichotomy for open-air museums is that the visitors who come to look into the reconstruction automatically become outsiders, detracting by their presence from the very reality they come to observe. Yet no independent museum can afford, even if it remotely wished, to do other than attract visitors to help fund further development. An open-air museum site is inevitably a compromise, between the needs of visitors and the honesty of what they come to see. The successful museum is the one which harnesses the professionalism of its staff to solving the impossible equation, to retaining honesty while still satisfying the needs of its users.

The Black Country Museum doesn't claim to have solved all these problems as yet...but one part of the Black Country is becoming more real again (20).



20: A Lesson in progress — pupil participation, museum style — and these children are certainly enjoying the experience of 1920s transport

P·E·R·S·O·N·A·L·I·A

PROFILE

Ragnhild Marie Hatton, Cand. MAG (Oslo), PhD (London), is this year's recipient of the Norton Medicott medal for service to history.

Many Historical Association members will have personal memories of her, because she has given generously of her time over the years to HA branches and to sixthform conferences. Their lasting impression will usually be of her immense energy and of her vitality as a lecturer. To those who know her better, her much more remarkable quality is her capacity for enduring friendship and for helping others, whether they be non-professional historians, academic colleagues or distinguished historians in their own right. Even during her numerous, and by ordinary standards exhausting, international lecture tours, she never forgets her academic friends, making contacts on their behalf and bringing back for them much useful information. The contents of the *festschrift* presented to her in 1985 testify to some of the debts owed to her by other historians, but no single volume could record them all.

Born and educated in Norway, she became a British subject in 1936, and her academic career since then has been centred on the University of London, and particularly at the London School of Economics where she subsequently became Reader, Professor and now Emeritus Professor of International History, as well as receiving an Honorary Fellowship of the School since her retirement. During a busy life of teaching undergraduates, supervising many doctoral students and continuing her own researches, she served the School and the University in many onerous administrative positions, as well as being external examiner for other universities and a member of the Council of the Royal Historical Society whose Fellowship she was awarded in 1950.

It is nevertheless as a scholar that she has made her most enduring contribution to academic life. Having been influenced by, and then collaborated with Mark Thomson, she went on to found a new tradition in the history of international relations whose methods have much influenced historians in other European countries and America, as well as in Britain. Part of her originality lay in her multi-national approach to diplomatic history, which for too long had been seen in terms of relations between pairs of states. She stressed the interconnections among European events, and indeed she always seems to have the whole range of late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century diplomacy in the forefront of her mind. Every aspect of the diplomatic process has come under her scrutiny, from high policy to daily doings of couriers, spies and cryptographers, all set against a profound understanding of the political and social attitudes prevailing in the different courts of



Europe. At the splendid seminar she ran for many years at the Institute of Historical Research, where leading foreign historians were often to be found among the speakers and the audience, she always had new evidence, a wider perspective or a novel interpretation to add to even the most scholarly paper.

Her unusual versatility as an historian soon meant that international relations did not remain the only focus for her researches and writings. She became an expert on the internal history of a number of countries, showing a deep understanding of the social as well as the political and administrative aspects, and her historical insights have often prompted these other lands to translate her works into their own tongue. Thus her large book on *Charles XII* is now available in Swedish, and is recognised in Sweden, as elsewhere, as the definitive study of that extraordinary monarch. Her equally substantial *George I* can be read in German, her more widely focused and penetrating analysis of *Europe in the age of Louis XIV* has its French and Portuguese editions, and *Louis XIV and his world* has also appeared in Spanish. All over Europe and America, therefore, she is regarded as an authoritative voice. Yet she has found time to write numerous articles, some of them making the research of other scholars more readily accessible, and to edit the excellent 'Men in office' series for Thames and Hudson, where she has demonstrated her skill at identifying and encouraging younger scholars.

She is therefore personally as international as the history she has illuminated so strikingly, and it is to the discredit of the insular British 'establishment' that it has failed to honour at national level the achievements which three other countries have been pleased to celebrate. The King of her native Norway bestowed upon her a Knighthood First Class of the Royal Order of St Olav, the French made her

an Officier dans l'Ordre des Palmes Académiques, and most recently King Karl XVI Gustav invested her with the rank of Commander of the Royal Order of the Polar Star. She was the first woman to be elected a Foreign Fellow by the American Historical Association, and she received the Honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters from Ohio State University.

In her inaugural lecture, Ragnhild said that she only really understood enlightened despotism when she became a mother. Enlightened certainly, but there is no whiff of despotism about her undeniably forceful personality. Moreover her role as a devoted mother and now a fiercely proud grandmother has somehow been incorporated into her heavy academic schedule. Indeed in the domestic world too, perfection was always a goal, and she therefore duly qualified as a fully trained *Cordon Bleu maître de cuisine*. Thus on a typical Monday, after a hard morning of teaching and administration, she would arrive at the Institute for tea, deliver a series of messages and enquire about present or absent friends, using her distinctive technique of holding two perfectly controlled conversations at the same time, and would then preside over her seminar, whisking the speaker back to Kensington afterwards where, miraculously, a sumptuous dinner seemed ready to be served. There the visitor would discover another secret of Ragnhild Hatton's success, for no portrait of the distinguished career of this dynamic woman would be complete without reference to its most enduring characteristic, the underlying security of more than 50 years of happy marriage to Harry Hatton, based on many mutual interests, especially a love of travel and a shared sense of fun. Certainly all those who have worked with Ragnhild are doubly grateful that they thus acquire, not one friend, but two.

THE CONTRIBUTORS

John Crompton was born among Lancashire hills and mills and obtained a degree in geography, and taught geography and geology in Lincoln. He moved on to training teachers in geography, and in the 1970s developed and led a degree course in industrial archaeology. He was appointed Keeper of Social and Industrial History at the Black Country Museum in 1985.

K.H.D. Haley, is Emeritus Professor of Modern History, University of Sheffield, having taken early retirement in 1982. Amongst his other publications he has written a pamphlet on *Charles II* for the Historical Association (revised 1983) and *Politics in the Reign of Charles II* for the Historical Association Studies series (1985). He is an Ordinary Vice-President and member of Council and in 1987 was elected Fellow of the British Academy.

I.A.A. Thompson, is Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Keele. He specialises in the history of government and administration in later sixteenth- and



J. Crompton



K.H.D. Haley



R. Whiting

seventeenth-century Spain. He is presently working on a study of the Cortes of Castile 1559-1664.

Roger Whiting is a freelance historian, lecturer, author and journalist. Until recently he was Head of the History Department, King's School, Gloucester. He has written on a wide range of subjects, including prison history, *A Handful of History* (1978) on political playing cards, and *The Enterprise of England: the Spanish Armada* (1988). However his best selling book remains his *Religions of Man* (1986). He has served on the committee of the Cheltenham and Gloucester branch of the Historical Association for 25 years.

Historical Association

Changes at Headquarters

Denis Mundy, Assistant Secretary in charge of finance, retired recently after seven years service. Council thanked Denis officially for his hard work at its meeting in February. He had been of enormous assistance in coping with the HA's financial matters over what were sometimes very difficult times. His replacement, Richard Dean, took up the appointment of Finance Officer at the beginning of March although he has been working part-time at Headquarters since last year. We look forward to working with him.

Historical Association Development Fund

Members are reminded that donations are still sought for the Development Fund. When this issue of *The Historian* went to press the following HA Branches had kindly made donations: Bristol, Croydon, Brighton, West Wiltshire, Hertfordshire, Exeter, West Surrey, Newcastle upon Tyne, Hampstead and NW London, Shrewsbury, Manchester, Cambridge, Southampton and Essex.

Subscriptions for 1988-89

At the Annual General Meeting on 9 April it was agreed that subscription rates for 1988-89 would be increased as follows: Individual Membership from £14.50 to £15.50

Corporate Membership from £17.50 to £20.00

Joint Membership (for existing members in this category only) from £21.75 to £23.25

Student/Graduate Membership and Local History Society affiliation will remain the same at £8.50.

- History Subscriptions to *History* will remain unchanged. The non-member subscription will increase to £25.00. Any changes in the subscription rates for *Teaching History* will be notified in the Summer issue of *The Historian*.

- Direct Debit Members who pay by direct debit will receive separate notice of subscription changes.

- Corporate Members will receive pro-forma invoices in late May or early June.

- All other members will receive renewal forms with the August issue of *The Historian*.

News from the AGM

Congratulations to the following people who have been elected to serve on Council for the period 1987-90: Professor Michael Biddiss, Mr Ian Dawson, Mrs Carol Gleisner and Mr Nicholas Pronay were returned on the National List. The Group representatives are Dr Munel Chamberlain (Group 7, returned unopposed), Mr Christopher Daniels (Group 3, returned unopposed), Professor Harry Dickinson (Group 1, returned unopposed), and Dr Joe Smith (Group 8). Miss M E Bryant was appointed an Honorary Vice-President, and the meeting elected the following as Ordinary Vice-Presidents, for the period 1987-90: Professor Ian Cowan, Dr J Lance Dobson, Professor Ken Haley, Mrs Joan Lewin and Mr John Slater. Dr John Hare, Dr Trevor James, Mr Philip Johnston and Mr Alan Klee were co-opted at the Council meeting which followed the AGM.



M. Chamberlain



C. Daniels



H. Dickinson

A Novel Idea

The Historical Association is frequently being asked by members for a new pamphlet on historical novels. That written by the late Helen Cam, which evaluated novels in print from the point of

view of their readability and their historical accuracy, was a model of its kind. A suggestion has been made that there may be a number of members interested to read and report on novels in print, so that a pamphlet can be produced. Review copies of books can be obtained from publishers and sent to those willing to write a brief report. If you would like to be considered as a possible contributor to the pamphlet please send the following details to the HA Secretary as soon as possible:

- Your name, address and brief details about your special historical interests
- The period of history you feel most qualified to assess.

First Day Cover

The Spanish Armada

On Tuesday, 19 July, the Post Office is issuing a strip of five continuous stamps depicting the Armada as it sailed around the coast of Britain. The Historical Association's first day cover will feature full colour portraits of Philip II of Spain and Elizabeth I of England, reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the National Maritime Museum. Each stamp will be franked in Plymouth with a special commemorative postmark. We are delighted that two eminent historians, Sir Geoffrey Elton and Dr Maria-José Rodríguez-Salgado have agreed to sign a limited number. Prices, which include postage and packing in the UK are as follows:

With single stamp £2.25

With complete set of stamps £4.95

Signed edition of complete set £9.50

(For overseas orders please add £1 to the above prices)

Send all orders, with cheques made payable, to 'Covercraft', PO Box 713, London SE19, as soon as possible.

Administrative meetings

(At Headquarters unless otherwise stated)

Council and Committees (Education, Local History, Membership Services, Publications)

1 October 1988

4 February 1989

7 October 1989

Council only

5 April (at Glasgow)

Finance and General Purposes Committee

25 June 1988

14 January 1989

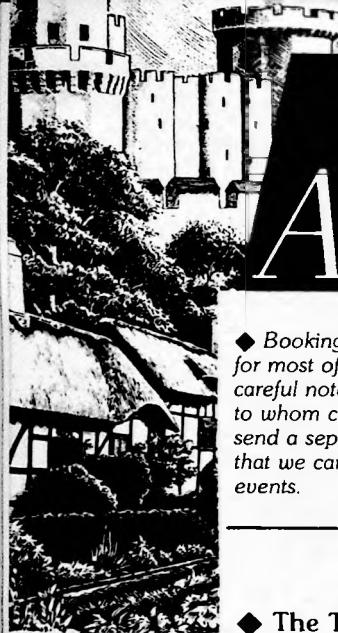
24 June 1989

Branch Officers' Meeting

4 March 1989

IN MEMORIAM

Dr Margaret Sharp, who died at the age of 92 on 13 November 1987, was until then the sole surviving original member of the Historical Association. She was the daughter of the famous Professor Thomas Frederick Tout, who enlisted her as a schoolgirl in the Manchester branch in 1906. Some years later she became a life member of the Association and used jokingly to call it 'the best bargain of my life': it should be added that she gave generously to the funds in other ways and left us a legacy. She was educated at the Manchester High School for Girls and Manchester University, where she achieved a First Class BA in History in 1918 and proceeded to MA and then to PhD, her thesis being *Contributions to the History of the earldom and county of Chester, 1237-1399* (1925). Like her father and aunt (Professor Hilda Johnstone), a dedicated medievalist, she contributed substantially to volume five of Tout's *Chapters in medieval administrative history* (1930) and her last published work was an edition of *Accounts of the constables of Bristol Castle in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries* (Bristol Record Society, 1982). She particularly enjoyed preparing *The Late Middle Ages for the Historical Association* which was a volume in the 'English History in Pictures' series (1955). Margaret Sharp was devoted to our Association, as a member of Council from 1946 and a Vice-President from 1952. While a lecturer in medieval history at Bristol University (from 1944 until her retirement in 1962), she was active in the Bristol branch eventually becoming its President. In retirement she lived in London, and until a few years ago attended Council and Committees regularly. Her decided views were always pleasantly expressed. It has been said that Margaret Sharp 'possessed her father's intellectual honesty to an even greater extent than he' — perhaps the finest tribute to Tout's daughter.



OUT & ABOUT

◆ Booking forms are enclosed which can be used for most of the events shown here. Please take careful note of where bookings should be sent and to whom cheques should be made payable. (Please send a separate cheque for each event.) We regret that we cannot accept telephone bookings for any events.

◆ The Tudor Church

Saturday, 4 June 1988

This important day conference, which will be held in Reading Abbey Gateway, Berks, looks at various aspects of the English Church in the sixteenth century. Our day begins at 10.30 a.m. with Dr Christopher Harper-Bill (St. Mary's College, Twickenham) speaking on *The Pre-Reformation Church* and, following coffee, Dr Ralph Houlbrooke (Reading) speaks on *The Edwardian and Marian Church*. After a break for lunch we continue with Dr Glyn Redworth (Christ Church, Oxford) on *The Henrician Reformation*, and the lectures conclude with Professor Patrick Collinson (Sheffield) on *The Elizabethan Church*. Following tea Dr Brian Kemp (Reading) will give



a guided tour of the ruins of Reading Abbey where in 1539 the last Abbot was hanged for denying the supremacy of Henry VIII over the English Church. The day will end about 4.45 p.m.

The cost of the day is £7.25 to members, £9.50 to non-members, £6 to student members, and £7.25 to non-member students. The Abbey Gateway is four minutes walk from Reading Railway Station (trains from Paddington to Reading can take less than 30 minutes). Lunch is not provided but there are plenty of eating places in the town centre just across the road from our venue.

◆ Sovereign Education Weekend

in conjunction with The Historical Association
17-19 June 1988

This weekend will be held at the Swallow Hotel, South Normanton, Derbyshire. Friday evening commences with a reception followed by Maxwell Craven speaking on *The Derbyshire Country House*. After breakfast on Saturday

there will be a coach trip to Chatsworth. In the evening Ian St Clair Hughes will speak on *How an Historic House is Run*. On Sunday morning Professor Gordon Batho will speak on *Bess of Hardwick Hall* and in the afternoon there will be a coach trip to Hardwick Hall.

The cost of the weekend is £112, plus VAT, which includes all accommodation, meals, coffee and tea. Single room supplement £7 per night. All bookings and enquiries to Dorothy Hartley, Sovereign Education Ltd., Broadclough Hall, Bacup, Lancs OL13 8PA, telephone: 0706 874510.

◆ Treasures of the Royal Collection, Buckingham Palace

Wednesday, 29 June 1988

This private evening view of the Queen's Gallery at Buckingham Palace has been organised by the Silver Study Group (see *Society News*). The exhibition, which marks the first 25 years of the Gallery's history, contains a selection of the finest and most celebrated pictures and works of art from different parts of the Queen's collections. Pictures by such artists as Raphael, Holbein, Bruegel, Lotto, Van Dyke, Rembrandt, Vermeer, De Hooch, Claude, Rubens, Canaletto and Zoffany will be on view. Many of the pictures have been especially cleaned and restored for the occasion. The evening begins at 6 p.m. and ends at 7.45 p.m.

The tickets are £5.50. Apply, enclosing a stamped addressed envelope and cheque made payable, to the Silver Study Group, PO Box 93, London NW4 3DW as soon as possible. For security reasons please give the full names and addresses of all participants.

◆ The Glorious Revolution

Saturday, 9 July 1988

A privilege visit to the Banqueting House and Houses of Parliament to celebrate the Tercentenary of the Glorious Revolution has been organised by the HA in conjunction



with the Friends of the Institute of Historical Research to see the *Parliament and the Glorious Revolution* exhibition at the Banqueting House in Whitehall. Following the visit there will be a reception in the House of Commons. As well as bringing together the most important documents and artefacts of the time, the exhibition includes a recreation of the scene in the Banqueting House when Parliament presented William and Mary with the Declaration of Rights. Participants will be able to mingle with the Lords and Commons assembled, and to see and hear the reading of the document to their Majesties. Our visit, from 6 p.m. to 7.15 p.m., has been specially arranged to take place when the exhibition will be closed to the general public. After the visit we shall take a short walk down Whitehall to the reception in the House of Commons which will start at 7.30 p.m. and end at 9.30 p.m. This has been kindly sponsored for us by Mr Michael Ryle, Clerk of the Committees of the House of Commons. Mr Ryle, Mr H. Cobb and Mr D. Johnson of the House of Lords Record Office will also show members around the Palace of Westminster.

Price, including entrance fee to the exhibition and cost of the reception, HA members and FIHR £10.50, non-members £13.50. For security reasons and because numbers are limited please book as soon as possible and include the full names and addresses of all those applying.

◆ Durham Teachers' Refresher Course

12 and 13 July 1988

The Northern Region of the Historical Association is still accepting bookings for its 1988 *Refresher Course for Teachers*, held at St Chad's College, Durham City. There is a choice of two programmes: *European History 1540-1640* or *The American West*; and a session on GCSE History on 12 July and another on A-level History on 13 July.

All-inclusive registration fee £20. Examination sessions only £3. Overnight accommodation can be arranged. Full details, and all bookings, to Professor G.R. Batho, University of Durham, DH1 1TA as soon as possible.

◆ Plymouth Armada Conference

15-17 July 1988

This is your last chance to book for our residential conference on *The Spanish Armada 1588-1988* to be held at the College of St Mark and St John. There is



excellent residential accommodation in single study bedrooms with wash basins, in a hall set in pleasant campus grounds just outside the city.

Registration is on Friday from 4.30 p.m. onwards. In the evening there will be a Civic Reception, hosted by the Mayor of Plymouth, followed by Joyce Youings (Exeter) lecturing in the Guildhall on *Devon and the Armada*. On Saturday the lectures continue with D.M. Loades (Bangor) on *Elizabethan Foreign Policy and the Armada Context*, Glanmor Williams (Swansea) on *Philip II's Spain: Golden Age or Black Legend?*, and Margarita Russell (National Maritime Museum) on *The Armada in Art*. On Sunday we will hear Ian Friel (National Maritime Museum) speak on *The Elizabethan Navy* and Anthony Ryan (Liverpool) on *Drake and the Armada*.

On Saturday afternoon participants can either visit Cotehele House, near Saltash, built 1485-1627, or attend a teacher session looking at coursework, assessment and the use of documents with special emphasis on the Tudors and Stuarts. Mr T. Ridd, Chief Examiner JMB, will be among the speakers. The conference ends on Sunday afternoon with a privilege visit to Buckland Abbey, the home of Sir Francis Drake. Participants will return to Plymouth by about 4.00 p.m.

The *residential fee* for the conference is £85 to members, £95 to non-members. It includes all meals, coffee and tea from Friday evening to Sunday afternoon, accommodation, all transport and admission charges. *Non-resident fees* are £50 to members, £60 to non-members, which includes lunches, dinners, coffee, tea, transport and coach visits. All fees include a *non-returnable*

booking charge of £5. British Rail conference discount fares are available and details will be sent to participants nearer the date. Transport on Friday afternoon from Plymouth Railway Station to the College and on Sunday afternoon from the College to the Station can be arranged on request. No booking form is enclosed with this issue of the magazine but you can either book direct stating your choice of Saturday afternoon option or write to Adrian Ailes at Headquarters for a detailed programme and booking form. There are still places available on the tour immediately following the conference (17-20 July) which explores the countryside on both sides of the River Tamar.

◆ Revision School 1988

26 July to 3 August 1988

There is still time to book for this year's revision school which is being held at the University of Warwick, see *Spotlight*, in the Winter 1987/88 issue of the magazine. A brochure which contains full details can be obtained from Headquarters.

◆ Privilege Visit to Lichfield House, London

Wednesday, 24 August 1988

This privilege visit to Lichfield House, 15 St James's Square, London SW1, has been arranged by kind permission of the owners, the Clerical, Medical and General Life Assurance Society. Participants will be able to see this magnificent Georgian house in one of the oldest squares in London. Lichfield House, named after the first



earl, was designed by James 'Athenian' Stuart and completed in 1766, with alterations by Samuel Wyatt finished in 1794. The former drawing room (now the Board Room) is said to be the finest in St James's Square and occupies the entire frontage of the house. Both this room and the Committee Room boast magnificent painted ceilings. The house was fully restored in 1980-82. Our visit will begin at 6.45 p.m. when parking in the Square is easier.

Price: £3 to members, £5 to non-members. Please note that no booking form is enclosed with this issue of the magazine and numbers are strictly limited so please hurry. Simply write to Headquarters, enclosing a cheque made payable to The Historical Association, for a place.

◆ Merseyside Maritime Weekend

2-4 September 1988

This weekend, especially planned for the HA and escorted by Myrtle Ellis (Lecturer, Victorian and Albert Museum and NADFAS) is based at the four-star Liverpool Moat House Hotel. The weekend starts on Friday evening with an illustrated talk on *The Nelson Room at Lloyds*. During the weekend coach visits include a tour of the new Albert Dock and the Maritime Museum where we shall see the award winning gallery *Emigrants to a New World* which has special significance in this Australia Bicentenary Year. We shall be welcomed at the National Waterways Museum at Ellesmere Port, a living museum with a unique collection of traditional canal boats and restored cottages; and a trip on a narrow boat along the Shropshire Canal is planned. Sunday takes us to a port of a different kind — Port Sunlight — the fascinating model village set out in 1889. There will also be an exclusive private viewing of the Lady Lever Art Gallery which boasts a fine collection of furniture, paintings and ceramics, all set in period rooms.

Residential terms include two nights accommodation (twin rooms, private bathroom), TV, tea/coffee maker, English breakfasts, dinners Friday and Saturday, Sunday lunch, visits, admission fees and local coach. Price is £95 to members, £99 non-members, single-room supplement £10.

All cheques, bookings and enquiries, should be sent to Myrtle Ellis, PO Box 93, London NW4 3DW. A non-returnable deposit of £15 (plus single-room supplement if applicable) will secure your place and the balance must be paid by 5 August 1988. No booking form is needed for this event, but all bookings must be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Any cancellation must be made in writing. A refund of a proportion of the balance paid is subject to the place being taken up. It is recommended that you contact an insurance broker for details of cover in case of cancellation.

◆ Gerallt Gymro

Saturday, 24 September 1988

To commemorate the 800th anniversary of Gerald of Wales' (Gerallt Gymro) 600 mile journey through Wales in 1188, the HA in conjunction with Welsh Historic Monuments (Cadw), is holding a special one-day course on *Gerald of Wales and Early Medieval Wales, 1066-1283*, in Aberdare Hall, University College, Cardiff. The day begins at 10.30 a.m. with Canon David Walker (Swansea) speaking on *The Normans and Wales* and, following coffee, Dr Huw Pryce (Bangor) will speak on *Gerald's Journey Through Wales: a reassessment*. After a break for lunch Mrs Llinoë Smith (Aberystwyth) will talk on *Llywelyn the Great and the Thirteenth-century Princes of Wales*. The final lecture is by Mr Ifor Rowlands on *The Military Strategy of Edward I: castles and conquest*.

Following tea and biscuits at 3.40 p.m., participants will be able to view the special Cadw exhibition *Gerald of Wales: the Crusading Priest*. This is housed in the National Museum of Wales, a short 10-minute walk from the building. The exhibition examines the Welsh cleric's life, his famous journey through Wales, the medieval world around him, and the crusades which he joined in the late twelfth century. The day ends at approximately 5 p.m. Members can either have lunch in Aberdare Hall (please



book in advance, see below), or bring their own picnic as there are not many restaurants nearby.

Price, including coffee, tea and biscuits entrance to the exhibition, HA and Cadw members £7.50, non-members £10, Lunch, if required, £5 extra.

For further details of the way in which Cadw is celebrating Gerald of Wales see *Summer Visits* on the News pages. Members might also like to know that Professor Dr Siegmund-Schultze (Halle) is speaking on Gerald at the Fifth Harlaxton Symposium on twelfth-century England, 11-15 July, Harlaxton, Lincs. Other subjects include Angevin Castles, Female Monasticism, Heraldry, and Romanesque Painting.

◆ Annual Sixthform Lecture

Thursday, 13 October 1988

The 1988 London-based sixthform lecture for A-level students of history will be held, once again, at the City of London School for Girls, Barbican, from 2 p.m. to 4 p.m. We are very pleased to announce that Professor David Dilks of the University of Leeds will be speaking on *Britain and Germany 1937-1939*. This lecture, to be given just after the 50th anniversary of the Munich Agreement, will examine the springs of British policy towards Germany and the stages by which a hope of settlement declines in 1938 and 1939.

Price is £1.40 to members or students from corporate members school, £2 to non-members. A free ticket will be provided for every teacher bringing five or more students. Unaccompanied parties must give the name of a student responsible for the group.

◆ Education Conference 1989

History 1988-1989: Reform or Reaction?

3-5 January 1989

Regent College, London

The conference will relate to: ◆ The impact of GCSE on history teaching 11-13 and 16-18 ◆ The practical experience gained from teaching and administering GCSE 1986-88. ◆ The implications of recent DES policy for: (a) the place of history in the curriculum; (b) the content of the history syllabus; (c) assessment and monitoring strategies; (d) criteria for decision making and identifying objectives.

The focus will be on: ◆ History 11-13 (not forgetting the primary-secondary link) ◆ A-level prospects and problems

◆ GCSE — what now? ◆ A critique of and response to government policy.

Conference fee (non-resident): £50 member, £70 non-member

Conference fee with residence: £110 member, £150 non-member

Single day rate (including reception): £18 member, £25 non-member

Single night residence (dinner, bed & breakfast): £30 member, £40 non-member

THE HISTORICAL WORLD

NOTICE BOARD

COURSES

- Alston Hall, Longridge, Preston PR3 3BP
The Glories of Venice 1600-1750, 3-5 June
- English Country Houses, 20-24 June*
- The Pharaohs of Egypt, 8-10 July*
- Historic Gardens of the North-West, 23-30 July*
- History and Life through Stones and Parchment, 27 August-2 September*
- Field Studies Council, write to Flatford Mill Field Centre, East Bergholt, Colchester, Essex CO7 6UL for a complete brochure. Key: DF Dale Fort, DR The Drapers', FM Flatford Mill, JH Juniper Hall, MT Malham Tarn. PM Preston Montfort, SL Slapton Ley
Yorkshire Dales Village, 27 May-3 June (MT)
- Exploring Your Local History, 10-12 June (JH)*
- Discovering Family History, 10-12 June (PM)*
- Castles Weekend, 10-13 June (DR)*
- Railways of North Wales, 10-17 June (DR)*
- Recording the Industrial Past, 17-20 June (DR)*
- The Story of Devon Churches, 22-29 July (SL)*
- Pembrokeshire Archaeology, 27 July-3 August (DF)*
- Discovering Old Shrewsbury, 29-31 July (PM)*
- Archaeology and History in the Welsh Borderland, 5-12 August (PM)*
- Gardens thro' the Ages, 12-14 August (PM)*
- Canals and Inland Waterways, 12-16 August (MT)*
- Suffolk Villages, 12-19 (FM)*
- Vernacular Buildings in Surrey and Sussex, 12-19 August (JH)*
- Dartmoor to the Sea, 12-19 August (SL)*
- Transport and Industrial History in Devon, 12-19 August (SL)*
- Landscape through History, 19-26 August (MT)*
- Medieval Houses and Towns in Shropshire and the Borderlands, 19-26 August (PM)*
- Surveying and Recording Early Buildings, 26 August-2 September (FM)*
- Westcountry Heritage: Moors, Tors and Valley, 26 August-2 September (SL)*
- Discovering Surrey Churches, 9-11 September (JH)*
- Castles of the Borderlands, 16-19 September (PM)*
- Thomas Telford in Shropshire and North Wales, 16-23 September (DR, PM)*
- Institute of Heraldic and

- Genealogical Studies, Northgate, Canterbury, Kent*
- Residential Courses in Genealogy, 1-3 July, 12-16 September, 11-13 November*
- The Hill Residential College, Pen y Pound, Abergavenny, Gwent NP7 7RP
The Western Front, 3-5 June
- Summer School: The Archaeology of the Brecon Beacons, 15-22 July*
- The Landscape as Pages from the Past, 22-24 July*
- University of Cambridge, Board of Extramural Studies, Madingley Hall, Madingley, Cambridge, CB3 8AQ
Medieval English Cathedrals, 8-10 July
- Eighteenth-century England and the Enlightenment, 11-15 July*
- The Age of Augustus, 15-17 July*
- Family History (Beginners' Course), 5-7 August*
- Historic Landscapes: The Backs, Cambridge, 5-7 August*
- The Tudor Renaissance, 5-7 August*
- Medieval English Abbeys and Castles, 12-14 August*
- The Impact of the 'Glorious Revolution', 19-21 August*
- The Nobility of Late-Medieval East Anglia, 22-26 August*
- Romans in East Anglia, 29 August-2 September*
- King Arthur in Medieval England, 23-25 September*
- Dillington College, Ilminster, Somerset TA19 9DT
In Search of Tutankhamen, 20-24 June
- A Week in the West Country, 9-16 July*
- Manuscript Illumination, 13-20 August*
- World of the Pharaohs, 20-27 August*
- Calligraphy, 20-27 August*
- Armchair Cruise up the Nile, 16-18 September*
- University of Manchester, Department of Extramural Studies, Manchester M13 9PL
Mottram in Longendale, 1 June
- Didsbury: one of Manchester's Oldest Villages, 8 June*
- Tudor and Stuart Chester, 4 June*
- Fountains Abbey and Ripon Cathedral, 18 June*
- A Walk Round All Saints, 6 July*
- Living and Dying in Manchester: the Cholera Epidemic of 1832, 13 July*
- John Ruskin and the Landscape of the Lakes: a visit to Brantwood and Abbot Hall, 2 July*
- Maryland College, Woburn, Milton Keynes MK17 9JD
English Country Houses, 3-8 July

- Russia 1881-1917: the Twilight and the Dawn, 15-17 July*
- Family History Workshop, 22-24 July*
- Anniversary Ball: strawberries and champagne, 29 July*
- Peak National Park Centre, Losehill Hall, Castleton, Derbyshire S30 2WB
Discovering the Past: Landscapes through Time, 13-20 August
- Wessex Fine Arts Summer Study Course, Fine Arts, The University, Southampton SO9 5NH
The Medieval Spirit in English Art and Architecture, 4-10 July
- Westham House College, Barford, Warwick, CV35 8DP
To Stratford to the Play, 2-9 July
- Shakespeare at Stratford, 9-16 July*
- Shakespeare Theatre Week, 13-20 August*

CONFERENCES

- City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, Queen's Road, Bristol BS8 1RL
Third International Conference on Waterfront Archaeology in North European Towns, 23-26 September
- BASA Bicentennial Conference, Edward King House, The Old Palace, Lincoln LN2 1PU
Australia Towards 2000, 30 June-2 July
- Centre for History Education, Trinity and All Saints College, Brownberrie Lane, Horsforth, Leeds LS18 5HD
International Conference on Computers in the History Classroom, 6-8 July
- Harlaxton College, Grantham, Lincolnshire, NG32 1AG
Fifth Harlaxton Symposium on Twelfth-Century England, 11-15 July
- New Zealand Historical Association, Conference Convenor, History Department, University of Waikato, Private Bag, Hamilton, New Zealand
The Struggle for Human Rights, 26-29 January 1989
- Northern History, School of History, The University, Leeds LS2 9JT
The Glorious Revolution, 1688, 5 November
- Scottish Historical Conference Trust, Professor G.W.S. Barrow, Department of Scottish History, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, EH8 9JY
National Covenant Conference: 350th Anniversary of the National Covenant, 17-18 September
- Society for the Social History of Medicine, Institute of Historical

- Research, Senate House, London WC1

- Medicine and Charity, 1-3 July (University of Exeter)*
- Medicine and Ethnicity, October*

TOURS

- ACE Study Tours, Babraham, Cambridge, CB2 4AP
Gothick England, 19-23 September (£155)
- University of Birmingham, Department of Extramural Studies, PO Box 363, Birmingham B15 2TT
The Megaliths of Central and Eastern Brittany, 9-17 September
- Dillington College, Ilminster, Somerset TA19 9DT
Study Tour: The Castles of North Wales, 13-20 August (£215)
- Fresco, 36 Great Russell Street, London WC1B 3PP
Travel through time to Pompeii, China, Albania, Turkey, Germany, Sicily, North Yemen and Wales, 1988
- Maritime and Military Heritage Weekends, Ladbrooke Hotels, Millbank House, PO Box 137, Watford, WD1 1DN
The Defence of the Realm, 5-7 August (£87, Portsmouth)
- Tudor Maritime Heritage, 26-28 August (£90, Portsmouth)*
- The Army at Home and Abroad, 23-25 September (£88, Basingstoke)*
- Operation Overlord, 30 September-2 October (£88, Portsmouth)*
- Take to the Air, 21-23 October (£88, Basingstoke)*
- HMS Warrior: Britain's First Ironclad, 14-16 October, (£92, Portsmouth)*
- Maryland College, Woburn, Milton Keynes MK17 9JD
Milan, Mantua and Verona, 2-10 November (£674)
- Royal British Legion, War Graves Pilgrimage Department, Royal British Legion Village, Maidstone, Kent ME20 7NX
War Graves Pilgrimages: 1988 visits include Europe, Egypt, Tunisia, Sri Lanka, Kenya, Java and Amboin, Cyprus, Singapore and Malaysia, Grants available for war widows.

LOST & FOUND

- University of Southampton Development Trust, 34 Bassett Crescent East, Bassett, Southampton SO2 3FL
125th Anniversary of Foundation of the University of Southampton ex-graduates who have lost touch with the University are invited to write to the above address so that information about the celebration programme can be sent to them.

NEW PUBLICATIONS



- Two new pamphlets from the prolific Bristol Branch series of pamphlets, *The Bristol Gas Industry, 1815-1949*, by Harold Nabb and *The Oxford Movement in Nineteenth-Century Bristol*, by Peter G. Cobb, both priced £1, plus postage and packing (20p for one pamphlet, plus 5p for each additional one). Available from Peter Harris, 74 Bell Barn Road, Stoke Bishop, Bristol, BS9 2DG.
- The Northern Region Branches of the HA now have an impressive list of pamphlets for sale including *The DLI in Europe*, *The German Swordmakers of Shotley Bridge*, *The Reformation in Europe*, *Archival Teaching Materials*, *History Software*, *Handlist of History Textbooks*, *Teaching About the North*. Full list of publications, prices, and forthcoming titles from Professor G.R. Batho, School of Education, University of Durham, Leazes Road, Durham DH1 1TA.
- Everybody's Historic England: a history and guide*, by Jonathan Kiek, author of the award-winning *Everybody's Historic London*. Published by Quiller Press, £4.95.
- The Sudeleys: Lords of Toddington*, published by the Manorial Society of Great Britain, 104 Kennington Road, London SE11 6RE, £14.95. Proceedings of a conference held in 1985. Chapters by Rosamund Kitterick, Nigel Saul, Lord Sudeley and others.
- The 10th anniversary issue of *East London Record*, is now available from the East London History Society, 20 Puteaux House, Cranbrook Estate, London E2 0RF, price £1.75. Various articles on the changes in East London over the years.
- The Fire Service History of Staines and Ashford, Middlesex*, by P.J. Ramsden, 3 Aspen Close, Edenthorpe, Doncaster, DN3 2LQ, £2 post free.
- An illustrated *History of Potten End*, by V.J.M. Bryant.

available from the author, Cherry Bounce, The Common, Berkhamsted, Herts, HP4 2QF. £5.35 post free.

- *Welsh History and its Sources*, a series of paperbacks, the product of a project funded by a Welsh Office Education and Research Grant, conducted in the Open University in Wales, and published by the University of Wales Press, price £7.95 each, full details from University of Wales Press, Freepost, Cardiff, CF1 1YZ
- *Have the Humanities Ceased to be Relevant?*, an inaugural lecture delivered by Alan Bullock, FBA, available from the University of Warwick, Department of History, Coventry CV4 7AL
- Series of books dealing with London's East End: *One Dinner a Week*, *Travelling in the East*, *A Mid-Victorian East End Album*, *Down and Out in the East End*, *Artists and the East End*, *A London Docklands Guide*, amongst others, all available from Peter Marcan Publications, 31 Rowliff Road, High Wycombe, Bucks, prices around £5, write for a full catalogue
- *Rievaulx Abbey: a discovery pack for families*, published by English Heritage, price £1.75, an excellent guide around the Abbey for all the family, available from 15/17 Great Marlborough Street, London W1V 1AF
- *The Great Strike: a history of the Penrhyn Quarry Dispute of 1900-1903*, by Jean Lindsay, illustrated, published by David and Charles, £9.95.
- *The Water House: Houghton Hall, Norfolk*, by Rosemary Bowden-Smith, £2 plus 50p postage and packing, is the latest in a series, sponsored by Christies, under the general title of *English Garden Features 1600-1900*. Available from The Secretary, Avenue Books, Chestnuts, Hacheston, Woodbrooke, Suffolk IP13 0DR.
- *Living in the Past: an insiders social history of historic houses*, by David D. Duran, £12.95, published by Aurum Press.
- *Lord Palmerston*, by Muriel Chamberlain, £4.95 paperback, latest in a series *Political Portraits*, under the general editorship of Kenneth O. Morgan, published by the University of Wales Press.
- *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the College of Arms Collections*, the first volume is now available. The first published catalogue of an important group of Medieval, Tudor and Stuart manuscripts. Full details from The College of Arms, Queen Victoria Street, London EC4V 4BT

NEW RESEARCH PROJECTS

The Institute of Historical Research have opened a new *Centre for Metropolitan History* and are particularly keen to build up and publish a register of work in progress on London history. They invite researchers to write, giving details of their subject and its likely completion date. A questionnaire is available from the Deputy Director, Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, London, WC1E 7HU.

University of Manchester have launched a major international research institute based upon the holdings of the John Rylands University Library which houses some of the world's great treasures amongst its five million books and manuscripts. The *John Rylands Research Institute* seeks, among other things, to raise funds to purchase new collections, to catalogue unrecorded material, and generally to consolidate a truly international-level research facility in Manchester. Full details from the Director, John Rylands Research Institute, University Library, Oxford Road, Manchester, M13 9PP.

The Royal Institute of Great Britain is preparing an edition of *The Complete Correspondence of Michael Faraday, 1791-1867*. The project is supported by the Institution of Electrical Engineers and will be carried out by Dr Frank James at the Royal Institution. To make the edition as complete as possible will anyone possessing letters to or from Faraday or knowing of their location please contact Dr Frank James, Royal Institution, 21 Albemarle Street, London, W1X 4BS.

Society News

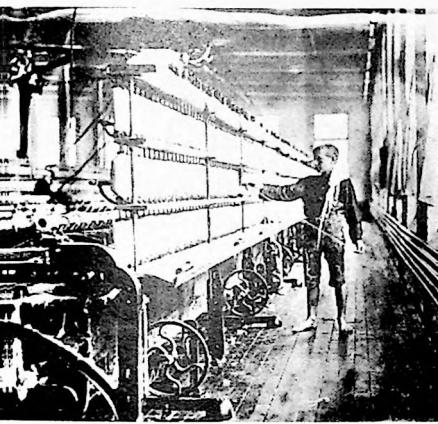
The Brontë Society Throughout 1988 special events are planned at the Brontë Parsonage Museum to celebrate its Diamond Jubilee. These began on 22 February and will end on 31 January 1989. A commemorative book has been launched, *Sixty Treasures*, containing 44 pages of full colour photographs and 64 pages of informative text detailing the relevance of each item, which has been carefully selected from the Museum. There will be two special exhibitions: *Treasures from the Collections*, featuring some of the rarest and most valuable manuscripts, and *The Changing Face of the Museum* depicting the development of the Museum over the last 60 years. For full details of the events taking place this year, and details of membership, contact the Society at the Brontë Parsonage, Haworth, Keighley, West Yorkshire BD22 8DR.

The Silver Study Group is a silver history society, covering one aspect of heritage that is often overlooked. Inevitably, due to the nature of silver and its role in society in past centuries, relatively little of the vast stores of plate have survived. Records give a positive indication of the constant melting of old-fashioned silver to contribute to the cost of new, more up-to-date objects. The group was founded in 1981 following a study series on silver given by Myrtle Ellis for the Victoria and Albert Museum. The aim is to make people, nationwide, aware of silver in the context of social history and to encourage research. There are monthly meetings and twice yearly conferences in various parts of the UK when members are given the opportunity to examine and discuss objects; others just keep in touch by the quarterly newsletter. The annual subscription is £6 and full details can be obtained by writing to The Silver Study Group, PO Box 93, London NW4 3DW (please enclose a stamped, self-addressed envelope).

A Society for Time Travellers is being planned. *Time Traveller* is a publication of the Thomas Cook Archives and Library created in order to provide a forum for people worldwide who are interested in the history of travel. It has now completed its first year of publication and gained some 3,000 readers worldwide. At the first gathering of London readers, over 60 per cent supported the idea of forming a society and they are now addressing the wider public to discover how much support they will have. The aims of the Society, sponsored by Thomas Cook, will be to encourage interest in travel in its widest context and to provide a forum and study centre in which all travel enthusiasts can share their interest in the evolution of the world's most rapidly developing activity. They plan a

subscription of about £10. Anyone interested in joining or supporting such a society please contact The Archivist, Thomas Cook, 45 Berkeley Street, London W1A 1EB. The Confraternity of Saint James was founded in 1983 to bring together people interested in all aspects of the pilgrimage to Santiago. It is a non-denominational registered charity. It holds regular meetings on recent research and publications, publishes a bi-monthly Bulletin on aspects of the pilgrimage in Britain, France and Spain, undertakes and promotes research into the history of the pilgrimage in Britain and takes an active part in identifying and safeguarding monuments and works of art connected with St James and the pilgrimage. Full details from the Secretary, Patricia Quaife, 57 Leopold Road, London N2 8BG.

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ahead of its time. The past 100 years have seen more changes on the planet than at any time before.

◆ Armada 1588-1988

An international exhibition to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the Spanish Armada is now open in London at the National Maritime Museum Greenwich, until 4 September 1988. On 12 October it moves to the Ulster Museum, Botanic Gardens, Belfast where it will remain until 8 January 1989. This exhibition is the world's largest and most comprehensive visual celebration of the quatercentenary. It draws on the epic quality of one of the most famous episodes in European history and seeks to explore in unprecedented depth its circumstances and significance. It is set in a broad international context, emphasising how the events of 1588 took place within a wider power struggle for political and religious control in sixteenth-century Europe. The finest available artefacts of the period have been deployed with great visual appeal. Two specially constructed tableaux evoke the splendid yet contrasting lifestyles of the



English and Spanish Courts. There are paintings, sculpture, engravings, maps, charts, manuscripts, books, pamphlets, tapestries, jewellery, armour, guns and many other artefacts. A central attraction is the large collection of material retrieved from the wrecks of the Armada ships off the coasts of Scotland and Ireland. The

picture shows the Gold Cross of a Knight of Malta that originally belonged to Fabricio Spinola, Captain of the Armada galleass Girona, which sank off Lacada Point, Co Antrim (Ulster Museum, Belfast). Contact the Maritime Museum, 01-858 4422 or the Ulster Museum, 0232-381251, for full details.

◆ Tank Museum

The Tank Museum, at Bovington Camp near Wareham in Dorset, is one of the largest collections of historic armoured fighting vehicles in the world. It contains



200 major exhibits, which originate from the UK and 14 other countries. They include the first tank, Little Willie built in 1915, and the oldest working tank in the world, the 1917 Mark IV. There are 11 vehicles from the First World War or earlier and some 80 tanks, armoured cars and specialised vehicles of the Second World War, representing all the major combatant nations (the picture shows a 1920-pattern Rolls-Royce Armoured Car). A major modernisation and expansion scheme is currently in progress and over the past five years a new library, cinema, restaurant and two new halls have been built. A hangar which houses First World War exhibits was completed in 1986 and the South Hall is due to open later this year. It will contain modern vehicles and exhibitions covering post-war conflicts. There are separate displays of engines, uniforms, medals and equipment.

The Museum collection has expanded rapidly in recent years and the archives

◆ FT Centenary

Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, was guest of honour at the opening ceremony of the *Financial Times* centenary photographic exhibition earlier this year. The exhibition has been mounted in association with Kodak Limited to mark the centenary of *FT* and the introduction by George Eastman of the Kodak Camera. The exhibition highlights the changes that have occurred over the past 100 years with a comparison of scenes from c1888, using photographs from libraries and private collections, with images of life in 1988 by the *FT*'s own team of photographers. The exhibition is travelling the country: it is at Birmingham Airport until 31 May; then moves on to Lloyds of London from 3 June until 1 July; and finally Manchester Airport from 3 to 11 October. Industrial life as depicted in 1888 is in stark contrast to that of modern Britain. Women and children worked long hours on the factory floor where productivity relied on 'people power' for increased output (the picture shows a barefoot boy tending a spinning machine in a Lancashire mill, BBC Hulton Picture Library). The mechanised automation of today provides a vivid representation of the changes that have occurred. George Eastman's introduction of the Kodak camera in 1888 was a development far

have grown at a corresponding rate. The library contains a comprehensive range of technical studies, dating from the first experiments with rudimentary tanks and armoured cars. These include plans, original working drawings, development histories and assessments of foreign equipment. The results of research into 'Tiger', for instance, produced in conjunction with Her Majesty's Stationery Office (1986), studies the formidable German Tiger tank through British wartime intelligence reports, reproduced in facsimile with a commentary. In addition to technical information there are large numbers of histories and personal accounts. These are available for nearly all of the regiments of the Royal Armoured Corps, but the Royal Tank Regiment and its forerunners the Royal Tank Corps and Tank Corps are particularly well covered. Documents include unit histories, War Diaries and reports on operations, many of them unique and of immense value to the historian. The extensive photographic library covers armoured warfare from its inception, with views of virtually every type of vehicle available, together with portraits and 'action' scenes.

Researchers are welcome to use the library, but for those who cannot visit the Museum a postal service is available. It is not possible to undertake extensive research on behalf of an enquirer, but copies of documents and photographs can be supplied at modest prices.

The Museum is open from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., seven days a week, and is closed only for a short period over Christmas. Admission costs £2 for adults, £1 for children and senior citizens, with special rates for groups and families. Full details from: The Curator, The Tank Museum, Bovington Camp, Wareham, Dorset, BH20 6JG, telephone: 0929-463953.

◆ New Museum, Support Wanted

The village of Wigston in Leicestershire was a framework knitting village and in 1845 it had 550 frames and more than half the population working in the hosiery trade. Recently a master hosiery's house and workshop have been found at Bushloe End in the village, complete with machinery and other equipment in situ. It is the contents that make the workshop particularly interesting for they provide an entirely authentic picture of a framework knitter's shop in the nineteenth century. As at Ruddington, a Trust has been formed by the Oadby and Wigston Borough Council with a view to conserving and repairing the premises in the eventual hope that they will be developed as a museum. A Friends Association has been formed to raise the necessary funds, currently £60,000. Eventually it is hoped to open the restored buildings to the public and to have demonstrations so that local people can gain information about their industrial roots. If you are interested in the scheme or wish to make a donation to the Trust please contact Bernard Elliott, 17 Half Moon Crescent, Oadby, Leicester.

◆ Summer Visits

◆ **Royal Britain** opens in the Barbican, London, in August this year, opposite the Barbican Underground Station. This unique entertainment will combine 1990's technical wizardry with a cultural theme of a thousand years of royal heritage. The design of the exhibition will enable visitors to walk through history, absorbing the ambience and atmosphere as though they were actually there at the time. It will be open seven days a week, 10 a.m. to 6 p.m., with special rates for groups. For full details of this new venue in London contact Sally Greenwood, Unicorn Heritage, Unicorn House, White Lyon Court, London EC2Y 8UH, booking enquiries 01-588 0588.

◆ The Gerald of Wales 1188-1988

Exhibitions are at three venues: Cardiff at the National Museum, *The Crusading Priest* (to 30 October); The Undercroft of St David's Bishop Palace, *Life in the Palace of a Prince of the Church* (indefinitely); Old Town Hall, Criccieth Castle, *Gerald of Wales and the Welsh Princes* (indefinitely). For further details telephone Cadw on 0222-465511.

◆ **Leeds Castle** in Kent has its usual exciting calendar of events. Their weekend Festival of English Wines from 28-30 May, the International Balloon Fiesta on 11 and 12 June, the Open Air Concert featuring Carl Davis conducting the

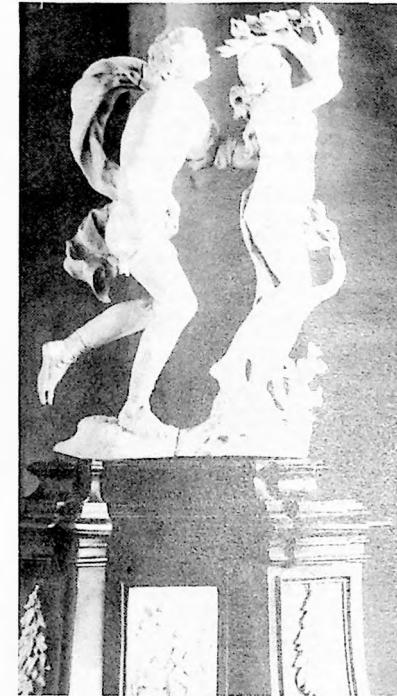


Philharmonia Orchestra in a programme including the 1812 Overture with the guns of the Royal Artillery and firework display on 2 July. For full information about opening times and special events telephone 0622-674177.

◆ **The Livesey Museum**, 682 Old Kent Road, London SE1, has a hands-on display called *Light and Lighting* which will be open until August. It is exciting and fun and the centrepiece is an example of an old-fashioned kaleidoscope — big enough to climb inside. Admission is free and the Museum is open from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., Monday to Saturday.

◆ **The Georgian Theatre Royal**, Richmond, Yorkshire, is celebrating this year: 2 September is the 200th anniversary of the original opening in 1788. They have a full programme planned and details can be obtained from the Manager, Les Jobson, by telephoning 0748-3021.

◆ **Mountfitchet Castle**, Stansted, Essex, is the Castle that Time Forgot. This is a unique Castle and Norman village nestling in the Essex countryside. You can step back 900 years in time into the world of William the Conqueror. Telephone 0279-81237 for details of opening times if you want to experience the atmosphere of eleventh-century England.

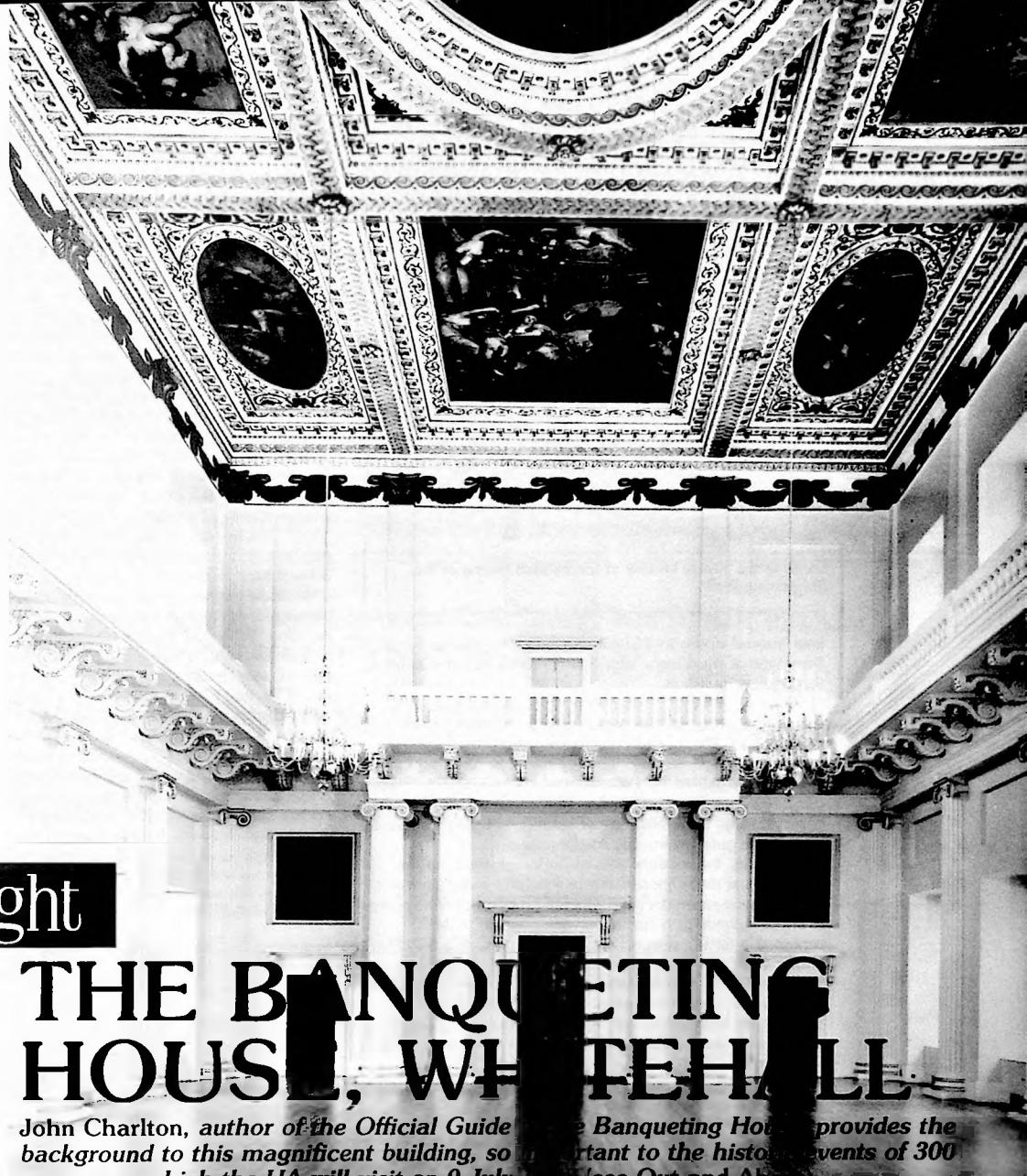


◆ **Burghley House**, Stamford, Lincolnshire has a new exhibition this year called *The Travelling Earl*. The richness of Burghley is largely due to the extravagance of John, fifth earl of Exeter while on the Grand Tour. His imaginative taste secured a spectacular collection of paintings, drawings, furniture, tapestries, silver and porcelain — fine examples of which have been selected for the 1988 exhibition on view in the Goody Rudkin Room until 9 October. Open Monday to Sunday 11 a.m. to 5 p.m., admission is £3 to adults and £1.70 to children, but this includes the House too.

◆ **Belvoir Castle**, Grantham, Lincs, home of the Duke and Duchess of Rutland, has its usual full programme for 1988, with its famous medieval jousting tournaments throughout the summer and especially over the Spring and Summer Bank Holidays. There are hawking and falconry displays, car rallies, and other special events, as well as access to the beautiful castle and grounds. Full details from Jimmy Durrants, Belvoir Castle Estate Office, Freepost, Grantham, Lincs, NG31 6BR, telephone 0476-870262.

◆ **The National Trust for Scotland** has sent information regarding events being organised for the summer months including afternoons with the Kincorth Waits, a group of talented musicians who play mainly fifteenth-, sixteenth-, and seventeenth-century music dressed in colourful historical costumes and playing authentic sounding period instruments. Venues include Drum Castle, Peterculter, Fyvie Castle, Turriff and Castle Fraser, Sauchie. Or perhaps you prefer a new play about Byron, born 200 years ago this year. *The Road to Missolonghi* is being performed at Haddo House on 2 and 3 June. Full details of these and other events from the Trust, 0467-22988.

◆ **The London Brass Rubbing Centre** has moved from St James's Church Piccadilly to Trafalgar Square. They can now be found in the crypt of St Martin-in-the-Fields Church. They are open from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. Monday to Saturday, 12 noon to 6 p.m. on Sunday. They have special brasses for all talents, and if you pre-book there are special discounts. Telephone 01-871 5135 for more details.



Spotlight

THE BANQUETING HOUSE, WHITEHALL

John Charlton, author of the Official Guide to the Banqueting House, provides the background to this magnificent building, so important to the historic events of 300 years ago, which the HA will visit on 9 July

the Banqueting House provides the important to the historic events of 300 (see Out and About)

On Wednesday morning, 13 February 1689

the Lords and Commons of England...went in a body with their Speakers and Maces to Whitehall to pray the Prince and Princess of Orange to accept the Crown. Their Highnesses received them in the Banqueting House...

This was the hall of audience of the great Palace of Whitehall, then the official residence of the sovereign. In 1698 a fire destroyed all its major buildings, save the Banqueting House, but its history is worth a glance, if only to put that building into its historical context.

The nucleus of the palace was York Place, the town house of the archbishops of York, which lay by the river, east of the Banqueting House. When Wolsey became archbishop he rebuilt and furnished it on a scale comparable to Hampton Court. By contrast the royal palace of Westminster was little altered since the days of Edward III; hence Henry VIII generally lived at Greenwich

or Richmond. When Wolsey fell he offered York Place to the king, who quickly took it, renaming it Whitehall. Across the public road from Charing Cross to Westminster he made what we might call a sports centre and further north built a modest private palace, which took the name St James's from the hospital for leper maidens which it displaced.

In the sixteenth century the great hall at Whitehall was used mainly for plays and masques or for receiving foreign embassies. For the latter it was inconvenient, being the heart of the palace. So for the visit of the Duke of Alençon in 1581 Elizabeth I built what might be called the first banqueting house next to the palace gate, where the present one is. An economical timber structure, patched and painted from time to time, it was by 1606 so 'old, rotten and slight-builded' that James I replaced it in stone. Here were acted a splendid series of court masques, written by Ben Jonson and produced, with elaborate stage effects, by Inigo Jones. When that building



Detail of the centre section of the painted ceiling in the Banqueting Hall

was burned down in 1619 it was Inigo Jones, newly made Surveyor of the King's Works, who designed its successor, the present building.

The son of a city clothworker, Inigo Jones had early shown an artistic genius which seized the attention of some aristocratic patrons, thanks to whom he travelled widely, especially in Italy. There he was inspired by the classical revival led by Palladio and his new building was a demonstration of its principles. The result was in complete contrast to its brick and timber setting — a symbol too, at the palace gate, of the Stuart dynasty.

Originally the exterior was of darker stone, with the architectural detail picked out in Portland stone and with which it was refaced in the nineteenth century. The palace is entered through a narrow annexe, which in 1809 replaced a timber-framed staircase wing, from a window of which Charles I stepped on to the scaffold in 1649. The basement of the main building housed the props used in the masques and the tapestries with which the hall was dressed on state occasions. At the further end was the king's privy wine cellar, a shell grotto convenient to the Privy Gallery above, where James entertained his intimates.

The hall is entered by the 'Greate Doore', formerly surmounted by Leseur's bust of James I. At the opposite end is a replica of a seventeenth-century throne. The low doorways flanking it opened on to the Privy Gallery, that to the left to the royal apartments, the other to the Holbein Gate and thence to St James's Park. The galleried interior is a double cube: 110 feet long by 55 feet wide and high. The enormous ceiling panels by Rubens commemorate the rule of James I. Any impression of emptiness is misleading: when in use the hall was either lined with tapestries or filled with the seating and staging for the masques.

These had a special significance for the early Stuarts, particularly Charles I, as symbolising something of the principles of Stuart monarchy and the Divine Right of Kings. A masque had two parts: first an anti-masque, with dialogue spoken by professional actors and portraying an imperfect world; next came a transformation scene (with elaborate stage machinery by Jones) in which members of the court — sometimes the king or queen — came down into the hall like heavenly beings, representing the perfect world of Stuart rule. To these sentiments Charles gave permanent form in the Rubens paintings.

Rubens came to London in 1629 on a diplomatic mission during which he discussed painting with the king. The result was a commission to fill the ceiling with

allegorical paintings eulogising the reign of James I. The main subjects are the Union of England and Scotland brought about by James's accession; his Apotheosis; and the Peace and Plenty arising from his wise rule. The corner panels show the Triumphs of Virtues over Vices and the side ones depict happy cherubs rejoicing in Stuart prosperity. Charles passed under these paintings on his way to the scaffold.

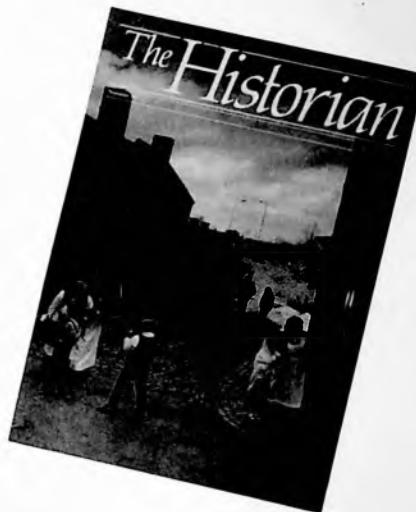
During the Commonwealth, Cromwell received foreign delegations here — as in due course did Charles II, who was greeted here by both Houses of Parliament on his Restoration. The Banqueting House also saw the revival of the ancient custom of Touching for the King's Evil (the curing of the scrofulous by the touch of the royal hands), which at the time had a special service in the Book of Common Prayer. Doctors brought their patients forward to the King, who stroked their faces, while a chaplain intoned 'He put his hands on them and healed them'. The practice became so popular that sometimes serious disorder resulted. Pepys thought it 'an ugly office and a simple one' and William III stopped it as a 'silly superstition'. Queen Anne revived it and in 1713 touched unsuccessfully the infant Samuel Johnson, who retained a fond memory of a lady in diamonds and a long black hood. The asthmatic William III preferred his modest new palace at Kensington to the damp of Whitehall, but Mary II lived here during his absences abroad. She even made a riverside garden, traces of which may be seen in Horseguards Avenue just beyond the Ministry of Defence building. Whitehall Palace was destroyed by fire in 1698 and St James's Palace took its place. The Banqueting House, saved with difficulty, was converted by Wren into the Whitehall Chapel Royal; and c1830 Smirke built a pillared organ loft over the Great Door. Then in 1890 the Royal United Service Institution next door was allowed to use it as a museum — it was then that the tall doorway behind the throne was made by Aston Webb. Finally, in 1963, the museum was removed and the building restored by the Department of the Environment.

The caption on the picture reads 'The Clerk of the Crown Reading the Bill of Rights to the Prince and Princess of Orange in the Banqueting House at Whitehall previous to the Offering of the Crown'



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*The Banqueting House and
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